

NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE REVELS
OFFICE UNDER THE TUDORS
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NOTES ON THE HISTORY
OF THE REVELS OFFICE
UNDER THE TUDORS. BY
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NOTES ON THE HISTORY OF THE REVELS OFFICE UNDER THE TUDORS

THE first attempt towards a history of the Revels Office was made about 1573 in an anonymous report upon the working of the Office, drawn up in view of a possible re-organization, and preserved amongst Lord Burghley's papers.¹ This is the account given by the writer of the origin and early fortunes of the establishment to which, evidently, he himself belonged.²

The Office of the Revelles, as it shoulde seeme by reporte, hath in tymes past bene in that order, That the prince beinge disposed to pastyme would at one tyme appoynte one persone, at sometye an other, suche as for creditte pleasaunte witte and habilitye in learnynge he thought meete to be the master of the Revelles for that tyme, in.

¹ Sir George Buck, Master of the Revels (1610-22), says in his *The Third University of England*, written in 1612 and printed in Howes's edition of Stowe's *Annals* (1615), that he wrote a 'particular commentary' of the 'Art of Revels' which 'hath a settled place within this City'. Unfortunately this is not now known. Of historians of the stage, George Chalmers deals most fully with the subject in § x, p. 471 of *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers* (1797). Valuable documents are printed or recorded in J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry and Annals of the Stage* (1831, 1879); A. J. Kempe, *The Loseley Manuscripts* (1835); P. Cunningham, *Extracts from the Accounts of the Revels at Court* (1842); J. O. Halliwell-Phillipps, *A Collection of Ancient Documents respecting the Office of Master of the Revels* (1870, eleven copies only, quoted from *Brit. Mus.* 11795, ee. 33, by its running title *Dramatic Records*); J. C. Jeaffreson, *The Manuscripts of W. M. Molyneux, Esq.*, in *Appendix to the Seventh Report of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts* (1879); J. S. Brewer (afterwards J. Gairdner and R. H. Brodie), *Letters and Papers of the Reign of Henry VIII* (1862-1905). A new edition of Cunningham's work, forming part of *Documents concerning the Office of the Revels*, by A. Feuillerat, is announced in the series of *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren Englischen Dramas*.

² *Lansdowne MS.* 83, f. 158.

to sett fourth the suche devises as might be most agreable to the princes expectacion. The workes beinge fynished, It is thought that the princes Tayler havinge the oversight of the Workemanshippe brought in the Bill of charges and was payed for it, whereupon is gathered that John Hoult yeoman of the Revelles vsed to say Concerninge allowance of charges in the office of the Revelles 'it hath bene but a Taylers Bill'

The
Revelles
Tentes and
Toyles
made an
Office.

It is alledged by some that afterwarde The Revelles together with the Tentes and Toilles was made an office and certen of the kinges householde servauntes appoynted by patent to have care thereof, Off whiche office there was a Seriaunt yeoman groomes etc., some of theym by the kinge speciallye appoynted as it shoulde seeme, for that they hadde *letteres patent*es of the same office, where commonlye others of their callinge in office in the Courte have their offices without patent. And some thinke that the Revelles was kept and wrought within the princes owne pallace.

The first
master of
that office
by patent.

After the deathe of Travers Seriaunt of the said office, Sir Thomas Carden knight, beinge of the kinges maiesties pryvie Chamber, beinge skilfull and delightinge in matters of devise, preferred to that office, did mislyke to be tearmed a Seriaunt because of his better countenaunce of roome and place beinge of the kinges maiesties pryvie Chamber. And so became he by patent the first *master* of the Revelles.

The first
Clerke
Comptroller
by patent.

Afterwarde Sir Thomas Carden, havinge by all likelihoode mistrust of loose and negligent dealinges by Inferiour officers or others in that office, and because hymselfe coulde not be alwayes there present to oversee the charge of the office, procured at the kinges handes That there shoulde be also a Clerke Comptroller of the said office, who beinge the princes sworne man and caryinge that name might with some countenaunce or authoritye stande hym in good steede for the better governement and direccion of the said office and for the amendment of the loose dealinges both to his owne ease and the princes good service, whiche Clerke Comptroller was John Barnard who was the first Clerke Comptroller of the said office for the Revelles and Tentes by patent.

It might seeme that in tymes past the same office beinge kept in the kinges house The Clerke Comptrollers of the kinges houshold or one of theym hadde eye vpon the princes charges in that behalfe, whiche might enduce a president for the establishment of a Clerke Comptroller in the said office.

Sir Thomas Carden after that, beinge driven as it should seeme from tyme to tyme to have his bookes of accompte made vp by the Clerke of the kinges Woorkes as the office might be vsed when it was kepte in the princes Courte, thought it expedient by reason of greate charge and expences daylie growinge by reason of the same office To have some necessarye person, who beinge the princes sworne servaunte and havinge office and wages or fee by patent therefore might register and enter the charges anye waye grown by reason of the said office from tyme to tyme, who also might be a good witnes of the vpright service both of the masters and others dealinges in the said office, and to make vppe and perfitt the bookes reconynges and accomptes of the said office with more readye vnderstandinge by reason of attendaunce then the Clerke of the workes beinge a straunger thervnto coulde doe, procured Thomas Philippes to be Clerke of the said office who was the first Clerke by patent of the said office.

The first
Clerke by
Patent.

The Quenes maiestye that nowe [is] devided the said office into divers offices videlicet.

The
deuision
of the
Offices.

The Revelles to Sir Thomas Benger knight.

The Tentres to Mr. Henrye Sakeford of her maiesties privie Chamber.

The Toyles to Mr. Tamworth of her maiesties privie Chamber.

The statements of this memorandum are fairly borne out by such evidence as can be gathered from account-books and other documents concerning the royal Household and its pastimes. As far back as 1347 the provision of *tunicæ* and *viseres* for the Christmas *ludi* at Guildford of Edward III finds a place amongst the expenses of the Wardrobe.¹ The record does not, unfortunately, preserve either the name or the status of the official who directed the *ludi*. But in the earlier part of the following century John Lydgate, who composed several sets of verses for use in court mummings, is noted to have prepared one such set for a Christmas feast in Hertford Castle 'at the requeste of the countrowlore Brys', who was 'slain at Louviers', perhaps at the capture of that town by the French in 1430, or during the siege of the following year.² Brys was probably Comptroller

¹ *Archaeologia*, xxxi. 37; Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 392.

² *Anglia*, xxii. 364; *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 398.

of the Household, an important officer in the Lord Steward's department. It is not until the reign of Henry VII that frequent notices of court revels become available. The accounts of this reign contain payments to various persons for 'disguisings', morris-dances, and the like at Christmas and other festive seasons. The first of these, in 1486, was Richard Pudsey, Serjeant of the Cellar; and he is followed by Walter Alwyn in 1491 to 1494; by one Peche also in 1494; by Jacques Haute in 1494 to 1499; by John Atkinson in 1501; by Lewes Adam in 1502 and 1503; and by one Master Wentworth in 1507. Payments to 'my lorde Suffolk, my lord Essex, my lord W^m.' in 1496, and to 'the queenes grace' in 1502 are doubtless exceptional.¹ The term 'Master of the Revels' is not directly used in connection with any of these payments, but that it was the name given to the functionary appointed from time to time to organize a Christmas or other festivity seems likely from an *Order for Sitting in the King's Great Chamber*, dated on Dec. 31, 1494, which enacts that 'if the master of revells be there, he may sitt with the chapleyns or with the esquires or gentlemen ushers'.² I think it is clear that the Master of the Revels was quite distinct from the Lord of Misrule, who was also appointed *pro hac vice* during the Christmas season, but whose duties appear to have been ceremonial and quasi-dramatic rather than administrative.³ In Henry VII's time the Master of the Revels was probably only a minor official, acting under the instructions of some higher magnate of the Household. There is extant an order appointing Jacques Haute and William Pawne to prepare disguisings and 'morisques' at the marriage of Arthur, Prince of Wales, in 1501, under the direction of the Lord Chamberlain.⁴ But in the light-hearted and sumptuous court of Henry VIII revels naturally became a matter of high moment. Several courtiers are named in the accounts as

¹ Campbell, *Materials for History of Henry VII* (R. S.), i. 337; ii. 60, 83; Collier, *English Dramatic Poetry*, i. 50.

² *Household Ordinances and Regulations* (Society of Antiquaries), 113.

³ *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 404.

⁴ Yorke, *Hardwicke Papers*, 19.

superintending them, often in the specified capacity of Master of the Revels. Amongst these are, in 1510, Edward Guildford, the Earl of Essex, and Harry Wentworth, probably the same 'Master Wentworth' who had already been similarly employed in the previous reign.¹ But in 1511, and for some years afterwards, the functions of Master of the Revels appear to have been generally discharged by Henry, afterwards Sir Henry Guildford, who held a high position at court, first as Squire of the Body and Standard Bearer, then from 1515 as Master of the Horse, and at a later date as Comptroller of the Household.²

Such important persons as Sir Henry Guildford, or as Lord Leonard Grey or Sir Anthony Browne, who gave instructions for revels in 1524 and 1539 respectively,³ were not likely, in spite of the daily fee of 10s. paid during the personal attendance of the Master of the Revels,⁴ to occupy themselves with all the minor details of organization which successful court festivities entailed. Such matters were, from the beginning of the reign, in the hands of a permanent official, who belonged originally to the establishment of the Wardrobe. It was his business to carry into effect the general directions of the Master; to obtain stuffs from mercers or from the Wardrobe itself, and ornaments from the Jewel House and the Mint; to engage architects, carpenters, painters, tailors and embroiderers; to superintend the actual performances in the banqueting-hall or the tilt-yard, and attempt to preserve the costly and elaborate pageants from the rifling of the guests;⁵ to have the custody of dresses, visors, and properties; and finally to render accounts and obtain payment

¹ Brewer, ii. 1490, 1492.

² Brewer, i. 718, 958; ii. 296, 874, 1492, 1497, 1499, 1501, 1509; iii. 1558. A note of Sir Henry Herbert's (Halliwell-Phillipps, 97) includes in a list of Masters of the Revels 'Sir Richard Guilford', but as 'not on record'.

³ Brewer, iv. 418; Kempe, 69.

⁴ Brewer, ii. 1501.

⁵ Brewer, ii. 1495, 'Thys forrest or pagent after the ewsans had into Westminster Gret Hall, and by the King's gard and other gentyllmen rent, brokyn, and by fors karryed away, and the poor men that wer set to kep, theyr heds brokyn two of them, and the remnant put ther from with foors, so that noon ther of byt the baar tymbyr cum near to the King's ewns nor stoor.'

for expenses from the Exchequer. These duties, with others of like character, were long performed by one Richard Gibson, whose careful accounts, compiled in an execrable orthography, preserve many curious details of forgotten pageantries, including the employment of none other than Hans Holbein in the decoration of a banqueting-hall at Greenwich.¹ Gibson's employment upon the Revels arose no doubt out of his position in the Great Wardrobe. Here he held the offices of Porter and Yeoman Tailor, with a fee of 4*d.* a day, by a patent of Henry VII, which was renewed upon the accession of Henry VIII. He had apparently the art of making himself indispensable, for he gradually accumulated both posts and pensions. In 1513 he is called 'Yeoman of the Tents', and in 1518 'Serjeant of the Tents'.² This indicates his tenure of an ancient office, dating from at least the twelfth century, and charged with the maintenance of the king's pavilions, tents, and banqueting-houses.³ Presumably, Gibson succeeded William Tournell, who was appointed Serjeant and Pavillonary in 1489 in succession to Thomas Walshe, who had held the post since 1485.⁴ The fee was 12*d.* a day. In this capacity it fell to Gibson to make the arrangements for the Field of the Cloth of Gold at Guisnes in 1520.⁵ In 1517 he obtained a patent for an annuity, apparently in addition to earlier annuities, of £10. By 1526 he was one of the royal Serjeants-at-Arms.⁶ Machyn, who records the burning of his son for heresy at Smithfield in 1557, describes him as 'sergant Gybsun, sergant of armes, and of the reywelles and of the kynges tenstes';⁷ but it is not clear that he held a distinct office of Serjeant of the Revels. Richard Gibson died in 1534.

¹ Brewer, iv. 1390. The accounts agree closely with the full notices of court revels in Halle's *Chronicle*.

² Brewer, i. 24, 283, 690, 828; ii. 1479.

³ Hall, *Red Book of the Exchequer* (R. S.), iii. 812, 'De Mareschaucia . . . Cortinarius.'

⁴ Campbell, i. 204; ii. 471, 527.

Brewer, iii. 239.

⁵ Brewer, ii. 875, 1044; iv. 868.

⁷ Machyn, *Diary* (Camd. Soc.), 157.

His widow Alice received an annuity, and his various posts were distributed, Thomas Bukworthe becoming Serjeant-at-Arms; Ralph Worsley, Porter of the Great Wardrobe; John Malte, Yeoman Tailor of the same; and John Parker, Serjeant of the Tents. Parker had previously been Yeoman of the Tents, and now, in his new post, received, besides 12*d.* a day for himself, 4*d.* a day for a Yeoman under him.¹ This post of Yeoman was held, in 1538, by John Farlyon, who in August of that year succeeded Parker as Pavilioner, or Serjeant of Pavilions and Tents, with an annual fee of £20 and a livery, and was himself succeeded as Yeoman by Richard Longman.² Farlyon, however, had previously held, and continued to hold after his appointment as Serjeant of the Tents, a quite distinct post as Yeoman of the Revels. To this he had been appointed by patent on Nov. 20, 1534, shortly after the death of Gibson.³

With Farlyon's patent the Revels must be held to have come technically into existence as an independent Office. In it he is described as 'Yeoman or Keeper of the King's vestures or apparel of masks, revels and disguisings, and of apparel and trappers of horses, for justes and turneys'; and his wages are fixed as 6*d.* a day, with one livery coat, 'such as yeoman officers of the household have.' On July 26, 1539, Thomas Thacker wrote to Cromwell, 'Last night John Farlian serjeant of the King's tents died. I and the bearer, William Stone, went this morning to Warwick Inn, where the King's tents and your lordship's lie, and locked the doors.' The letter concludes by begging that Stone may be Farlyon's successor; but in vain, for the post of Pavilioner or Serjeant of Tents was given, on Sept. 28, 1539, to John Travers, a Gentleman Sewer of the King's Chamber, and that of Yeoman of the Revels, on Oct. 21, 1539, to John Bridges.⁴ A

¹ Brewer, vii. 235, 514, 558, 559, 598.

² Brewer, xii. 2. 99, 100.

³ Brewer, vii. 560. Collier, i. 79, quotes a payment to Farlyon from the *Liber Numerator Scaccarii* for Easter, 6 Henry VIII, in which he is described as 'Custos Vestuarum', &c., in the exact terms of the patent. Obviously '6 Henry VIII' (1514-15) is a mistake for '26 Henry VIII' (1534-35).

⁴ Brewer, xiv. 1. 574; 2. 102; 2. 159.

list of the 'revel stuff' housed in 'certain coffers or standards at Warwyk Inn, London' was drawn up on its transfer to Bridges, and signed by John Gostwyk.¹ On Nov. 12, 1541, Bridges was also appointed Yeoman of the Tents in succession to Richard Longman, with a yearly fee of £10, and at the same date Thomas Hale was appointed Groom of the Tents, with 6*d.* a day.² The historical notice drawn up in 1573 suggests that Travers was regarded as Serjeant of Revels as well as of Tents. But whatever the nominal position may have been, it is doubtful whether, after the establishment of the Yeoman of the Revels upon Richard Gibson's death in 1534, that officer was under any real control by the Serjeant of the Tents, when the two posts were not in the same hands. Certainly Cromwell's accounts record, as made to Farlyon and his 'servants', both before and after his appointment as Serjeant of the Tents, payments for masks and so forth, such as had in earlier years been made to Gibson.³ Similarly at Christmas, 1539, the king's instructions for revels were conveyed by Sir Anthony Browne, the Master of the Horse, not to Travers, but direct to Bridges.⁴

Any ambiguity, however, that there may have been in the situation, disappeared in 1544 upon the establishment of a new functionary with the title of Master, as the chief officer alike of Tents and of Revels. By December, 1544, Travers, who had been employed at least as early as 1543 in Ireland, and had become Master of the Ordnance there, had resigned his office as Serjeant of the Tents, and had received a grant of Irish land to the value of 100 marks a year in compensation.⁵ During the year the Tents had been placed upon a war footing for the French expedition. Two lists,⁶ of which one is dated April 12, 1544, show that, in

¹ Brewer, ii. 1517, under the obviously incorrect date of 1518. Gostwyke is recorded as a gentleman usher extraordinary in 1516 (Brewer, ii. 873), which perhaps accounts for the error.

² Brewer, xvi. 641.

³ Brewer, xiv. 329, 339, 340, 342.

⁴ Kempe, 69.

⁵ Brewer, xviii. 1. 218; xix. 2. 440.

⁶ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 600; Brewer, xix. 1. 165. The same names and rates of pay

addition to the Yeoman, John Bridges, and the Groom, Thomas Hale, who received 2s. and 1s. 6d. a day respectively as war pay, there were four other officers upon the establishment. These did not include a Serjeant. Thomas Cawarden, as Master, received £1 a day; Anthony Aucher, as Lieutenant, 10s.; John Bernard, as Clerk Comptroller, 2s.; and John Colyer, as Clerk, 1s. 6d. Thomas Cawarden was by origin a mercer, having been apprenticed on Nov. 21, 1528.¹ On Aug. 31, 1543, he and his wife Elizabeth were pardoned for aiding and abetting a heretic. On June 25, 1543, being then Groom of the Privy Chamber, he was appointed Keeper of Donington Castle; and on March 3, 1544, being then Gentleman of the Privy Chamber, he was appointed Keeper of Nonsuch. At the end of the war, on Sept. 30, 1544, he was knighted at Boulogne.² His position in the Tents was regularized on March 11, 1545, by a patent granting to him and to Anthony Aucher in survivorship the Mastership of the Pavilions, Hales, and Tents as from March 16, 1544.³ By a second patent of the same date Cawarden also received, as from March 16, 1544, the entirely new post of Master of the Revels. The full title of the office, as set out in the patent, was *Magister Iocorum Revelorum et Mascorum omnium et singularium nostrorum vulgariter nuncupatorum Revells and Masks*, and the annual fee was £10.⁴ The Serjeantship of the Tents was evidently merged in the two new Masterships thus created, and the explanation

appear in an undated list in Kempe, 93, except that Aucher's name does not appear, and that Cawarden's pay is given as 4s. Kempe describes the list as a Revels one, but it must belong to the Tents. The war rates of salary seem to have been three times the peace rates, at least for the lesser officers.

¹ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 601.

² Brewer, xviii. 2. 140; xix. 1. 150, 642, 643.

³ Brewer, xx. 1. 213. Aucher at an earlier date had been Paymaster of the King's Works at Dover. He does not seem to have acted as Master of the Tents, and presumably he predeceased Cawarden.

⁴ Rymer, *Foedera* (1713) xv. 62, *in extenso*; Brewer, xx. 1. 213. Collier, i. 131, finding the entry 'Edm. Tho. M^o. Jocorum et revellorum, £10' in a list of fees granted by Henry VIII contained in *Lansd. MS.* 156, conjectured that 'Edm. Tho.' was some Master earlier than Cawarden. But clearly the abbreviation represents 'Eidem Thomae'.

given in the document of 1573 that Serjeant seemed hardly a dignified enough appellation for one of Sir Thomas Cawarden's credit is plausible enough. The writer of this document also tells us that Cawarden thought it expedient that the inferior officers on the establishment should be the sworn servants of the prince, and therefore obtained the appointment by patent, first of a Clerk Comptroller, and then of a Clerk, who took over duties of book-keeping formerly performed by the Clerk of the King's Works. He gives the name of the first Clerk Comptroller as John Bernard, and that of the first Clerk by patent as Thomas Philipps. John Bernard, or Barnard, had in fact served as Clerk Comptroller of the Tents during the war of 1544. In his patent, issued on the same day as Cawarden's own, and like that made retrospective in its effect to March 16, 1544, he is described as Clerk Comptroller of Tents, Hales, and Pavilions, and of Revels, Masks, and Masking Garments. His pay was 8*d.* a day.¹ Before the end of Edward VI's reign he had been succeeded by Richard Lees.² It is less easy to precisely corroborate the statements of the writer of 1573 about the Clerk. There was a Clerk of the Tents, John Colyer, in 1544, and he probably continued to serve as such after the peace.³ But he may have had no patent, and possibly also no functions in the Revels. Some payments were made for the Tents in 1543 and 1546, and for the Revels in 1546, by Nicholas Bristowe, who was not Clerk of the Works, but was, in 1543, Clerk of the Robes.⁴

The first mention of Thomas Philipps as Clerk is on May 29, 1549.⁵ In a letter of June 10, 1549, he describes himself as Cawarden's 'servante to comande at all tymes, Thomas Philipps, which beryth in a manner this offyce in the tents', and mentions his 'cosen Barnard' the Clerk Comptroller, and

¹ Brewer, xx. 1. 213; Collier, i. 132, where Bernard is incorrectly called 'Keeper' instead of 'Clerk Comptroller'.

² Collier, i. 140, from *Lansd. MS.* 156. Collier calls him 'Clerk' in error.

³ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 603.

⁴ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 602, 603; Kempe, 73; Brewer, xviii. 1. 120.

⁵ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 605.

'Mr. Hale' the Groom of the Tents. It is not clear why he calls Hale, whose post seems to have been no better than his own, 'my master.' In an undated and probably earlier letter he writes as Yeoman of the Tents. John Bridges, who had been Yeoman of the Revels since 1539 and Yeoman of the Tents since 1541, had resigned the former post by April 1, 1547, on which date Cawarden and Bernard signed an inventory of 'the King's masking garments' on their transfer from him to John Holt, 'now Yeoman.'¹ I suppose that Holt and Philipps succeeded Bridges in the Revels and the Tents respectively quite at the end of Henry VIII's reign, in 1546 or January, 1547. Philipps cannot have acted as Clerk very long, for Cawarden notes in his account for 1550-55 that all the payments for that period were entrusted to Thomas Blagrove 'clerk of the said offices' of Tents and Revels. Blagrove must therefore have succeeded Philipps by June 6, 1550, on which date the account begins. A patent appointing him to the joint Clerkship from the death of Philipps, at 8*d.* a day, with a livery worth 24*s.* and a house to be assigned by the Master, is dated March 25, 1560. Before this he may have performed the duties of Clerk as Cawarden's personal 'servant'.² It will be observed that the Office of the Revels, during Cawarden's tenure of the Mastership from 1544 to 1559, stood, as indeed it did both before and after, in complicated and intimate relations to the Office of the Tents. Cawarden himself was Master of both Offices by virtue of two distinct patents. The Yeoman, sometimes at least, was in a similar position. The Clerk Comptroller and the Clerk were joint officers of both departments under a single patent in each case. The Groom of the Tents had apparently no functions in the Revels. In the Household Books, the Clerk Comptroller and Clerk seem to have been entered as on the establishment of the Tents; the only officers

¹ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 604; Kempe, 100. According to Brewer, xiv. 2. 159, Bridges' patent was not surrendered until July 1, 1550, but a Revels Account in Kempe, 80, is further evidence that Holt was acting as Yeoman by Feb. 14, 1548.

² *S. P. Dom. Eliz. Addl.* ix. 58. Blagrove was taking a survey of Cawarden's Blackfriars property on Oct. 12, 1552 (*Hist. MSS.* vii. 607); cf. p. 18.

classified as belonging to the Revels were the Master and the Yeoman.¹

Some notion of the distribution of the duties of the Revels during this period may be obtained from the following document, which is preserved amongst Cawarden's papers. As it refers to a king, it must fall between 1544 and 1553. It will be seen that the Revels has a Clerk.²

Constitucionis howe the King's Revells ought to be usyd :

Fyrst, an Invyntory to be made by the Clarke controwler and Clarke, by the Survey and apowenting of the mastyr of the Revells, Aswell of all and singular masking garments with all thear furnytüre, as allso of all bards for horsis, coveryng of bards and bassis of all kynds, with all and singular the appurtenances, which Invytory, subscribyd by the yoman and clarke, ought to remayne in the custody of the Master of the Offyces and the goodes for the saeffe keypyng.

Item, that no kynd of stuff be bowght, but at the apowyentment of the Master or his depute Clarke controwler, being counsell therin, and that he make mencion therof, in his booke of recept *which* ought to be subscribyd as afforseyd by the Master.

Item, that the Clarke be prively to the cutting of all kynds of garments, and that he make mencion in his booke of thyssuing owt howe moche it takyth of all kynds to every maske, revelle, or triumph, *which* boke ought to be subscribyd as afforseyd by the Master.

Item, that the Clarke kepe check of all daye men working on the premisses, and to make two lyger boks of all wags and provisions of all kynd whate so ever, the one for the paye master and the other for the Master.

Item, that no garments forseyd, bards, coveryng of bards, bassis, or suche lyck, be lent to no man without a specyall comaundment, warrant, or tokyn, from the Kyng's Maiestie, but that all be leyd up in feyr stonderds or pressis, and every presse or stonderd to have two locks a pece, with severall wards, with two keys, the one for the Master or Clarke, and the other for the yoman, so that non of them cum to the stuff without the other.

¹ *Stowe MS.* 571, f. 25^v (1552); *Collier*, i. 162 (1553-4), 174 (temp. Eliz.); *Household Ordinances* (Soc. Antiq.), 255, 256 (temp. Eliz.); *Lord Chamberlain's Books*, 617, f. 19 (1593).

² Kempe, 93.

The close connection of the Revels and the Tents no doubt made it convenient that the two Offices should share a local habitation. In Gibson's time before 1534, the Revels stuff had probably been housed in the Great Wardrobe, which stood in the parish of St. Andrew's near Baynard Castle.¹ Under Farlyon in 1539 we find it, together with that of the Tents, at Warwick Inn. This was a royal 'mansion or hospice' in the City, which had apparently come from the estate of Alianora, Countess of Somerset. The Keepership of it had been granted in 1513 to John Turnor and Robert Browne; and on Dec. 30, 1541, the reversion was granted to John Bridges, Yeoman of the Revels. The Revels Account for 1543-4 includes the cost of carriage to and from Warwick Inn on the occasion of festivities at Hampton Court.² But apparently the mansion did not prove large enough for all the demands made upon it; and on June 12, 1543, another grant was made for life to John Bridges and Thomas Hale, as Yeoman and Groom of the Tents, of the house and site of the Charterhouse, for the safe keeping of the king's tents, halls, and pavilions. A grant for life of houses in the Charterhouse is included also in John Bernard's patent of 1545, and inventories exist of 'howsis' laid up in various parts of the church after the king's coming from Boulogne in 1544. But about this time the church of the Charterhouse was alienated and the Tents were displaced.³ It is possible that they found a temporary refuge in the former Priory of St. John of Jerusalem in Clerkenwell, which at a later date was destined to become the abode of the Revels.⁴ But ultimately the difficulty was solved by the

¹ Brewer, ii. 1498, 1503.

² Brewer, i. 636, 757; ii. 179; xvi. 603; Kempe, 72.

³ Brewer, xviii. i. 548; *Hist. MSS.* vii. 603; Wheatley-Cunningham, i. 363; Maurice Chauncy, *Historia Aliquot Martyrum* (ed. 1888), 119.

⁴ Stowe, *Survey* (1598), 162, says that Henry employed the priory 'as a storehouse for the king's toils and tents'. Heywood, *Apology for Actors* (Sh. Soc.), 40, says 'One of our best English Chroniclers [in margin 'Stowe'] records that when Edward the Fourth would shew himselfe in publicke state to the view of the people, hee repaired to his palace at St. Johnes, where he was accustomed to see the citty actors: and since then that house, by the prince's free gift, hath belonged to the Office of the Revels, where our court plays have beene in late daies yearly rehersed, perfected, and corrected, before they come to the publicke view of the

formation of a storehouse, both for the Revels and the Tents, on a large scale in the roomy buildings of a third dissolved religious house, the Blackfriars. This had belonged to the Dominicans. Since its surrender in 1538, tenements within the precinct had been granted to various persons, but the greater part remained in the king's hands. The conventual church had been pulled down; but a secondary church, which served the parish of St. Anne, was still standing. Preparations for the transfer of the Tents and Revels to this locality seem to have begun soon after Cawarden's appointment to the Masterships. Receipts are extant, dated in July, August, and December, 1545, for sums paid by Hugh Losse, the Surveyor of the King's Works, to or in the presence of John Bernard for 'reparaciouns of the kinges store howsis at the late Black Fryers in London'. Tents were housed there at least by 1546, and 'charges of removing the King's Revels and Masks, with appurtenances, from Warwick Inn to the late dissolved house of Blackfriars' appear in a Revels Account as incurred during 1547-8.¹ Cawarden gave great offence to the parishioners of St. Anne's by turning them out of their church on the plea that it was required amongst other buildings 'to laye in his Ma^{ties} pavylyons, tentes, maskes, and reuels'. He seems to have walled the building off, unroofed it, and made part of the site into a stable for Thomas Philipps. The king gave the aggrieved parishioners a room to use in place of the church.² Cawarden himself had in October, 1547, a lodging, probably official, in the Blackfriars.³ On April 4, 1548, we find him beginning to acquire property of his own in the Blackfriars by taking a lease for twenty-one years at £3 6s. 8d. of a house or kitchen with a yard and 'le Gallerye' on the east of Bridewell ditch.⁴ But on March 12, 1550,⁵ he

prince and the nobility.' I cannot find the passage in Stowe. On the 'citty actors', cf. *Mediaeval Stage*, ii. 381.

¹ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 603; Kempe, 73, 103. An account of Losse's for Blackfriars repairs is in the Record Office (*Declared Accounts*, 81).

² *Athenaeum* (1886), ii. 91.

³ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 605.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ G. S. Fry, *London Inquisitiones Post Mortem* (British Record Soc.), i. 192; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, i. 301. Collier, i. 139, misdates the grant May 12,

was successful in obtaining, apparently through the good offices of his neighbour at Baynard's Castle, the Earl of Pembroke,¹ a very considerable grant in free burgage from the Crown, which probably included not only his leasehold, but also so much of the whole house, site, and precinct of the Blackfriars as had not previously been alienated by Henry or by Edward himself, or assigned to the official purposes of the Tents and Revels. Portions of this estate he may have resold, but the inquisition taken after his death in 1559 shows that what he then held was valued at £70 a year. The parcels of land and their boundaries are minutely described and the names of the sub-tenants given. On the north of one of his houses called the Upper Frater stood 'the hall where the revels of the king were held', and this doubtless continued to be Crown property. But it seems that it did not provide for all the needs of the Tents and Revels, and that Cawarden himself found additional accommodation. The Revels Account for 1550 to 1555 shows that he was allowed to charge £6 13s. 4d. a year each for his own dwelling-house and for two storehouses hired for the Office of the Tents and the Office of the Revels, and £3 6s. 8d. each for the dwelling-houses of the Comptroller, Yeoman, and Clerk of the offices. A later account for 1555 to 1559 includes rent for 'the woorke and store howses of the revelles and mansyon howses of the officers' and for 'fyve greate romes within the Black-fryars occupied for the storehowses of the revelles'.² It is to be observed that Cawarden's high-handed proceedings towards the parish of St. Anne ultimately brought him into trouble. After he got his grant he pulled down the walls of the church, built tennis courts on the site, put a carpenter's yard and sawpit and other tenements in the

1551. A survey of the Crown property in the Blackfriars, taken by Hugh Losse, the Surveyor of the King's Works just before the grant, on Jan. 4, 1550, is at Loseley, together with schedules of Cawarden's Blackfriars property, taken in 1552, 1557, and 1559 (*Hist. MSS.* vii. 606, 607, 613, 615; Kempe, 175).

¹ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 615. Cawarden promised Pembroke a 'quyll' or pipe of water from his supply, and Pembroke pleaded his services as an argument to get the promise redeemed by Cawarden's executor.

² *Hist. MSS.* vii. 606, 615.

churchyard, and even turned the parishioners out of their room. In 1555 they brought a bill of complaint before Bishop Gardiner as Lord Chancellor, and on January 23, 1557, an order was made requiring Cawarden to reinstate the church. He did so, and the arrangement lasted until 1597, when the room fell down and a collection was made for the building of a new church.¹

The Blackfriars remained the head quarters of the Revels Office throughout the reigns of Edward VI and of Mary. Cawarden's papers, which are preserved at Loseley Park in Surrey, contain numerous warrants directing the preparation of entertainments and letters from the devisers of such entertainments detailing their proposals and requirements.² I have elsewhere given an account of the amusing difficulties experienced by George Ferrers, when he was appointed Lord of Misrule for the Christmas of 1551, in getting a sufficient and honourable equipment out of the Master of the Revels.³ No doubt there was often some jealousy between the permanent and the temporary official. Most of the warrants are signed by the Privy Council, and it is a curious illustration of the wide-reaching functions of that body to find the names of half a dozen dignified statesmen attached to a letter giving directions about the colour and fashion of a fool's coat and hood or a tumbler's jerkin. Others are under the privy signet of King or Queen, or are signed by some officer of the Household, such as the Lord Chamberlain, the Great Master of the Household, or the Vice-Chamberlain. As a rule, it is a performance at court itself, play, mask, or joust, that is in question, but we find the Revels directed to supply certain citizens of London with apparel at a coronation; and occasionally a nobleman or gentleman writes to Cawarden to borrow garments for a mask at a wedding or other festivity in his own house or that of a friend. Some care had to be taken to see that 'stuff' issued to companies of players and others

¹ *Athenaeum* (1886), ii. 91; Stowe, *Survey* (1598), 128.

² These deserve further examination. They are described in *Hist. MSS.* vii, and some are printed by Kempe.

³ *Mediaeval Stage*, i. 405.

was duly restored into the Office again. Account books, covering nearly the whole of Cawarden's Mastership, are also at Loseley.¹ These contain many curious details and should be printed in full. Amongst other things they record the pains which the officers of the Revels thought it necessary to spend in 'laying abrode, turninge, soinge, mending, tackinge, making clene, spunginge, wiping, brushinge, folding and laying upp the king's bardes, bases, caparisons, hanging garments and other stuff and store of the office'. This process of spring cleaning or 'airing' lasted from June 3-9 in 1551, and the officers received a special allowance during its continuance.² There is a letter of March 9, 1555, directing Cawarden to bring his accounts before Sir John Gage, Sir Robert Rochester, Sir William Petre and others for audit; and an Account for 1555-9 bears the signatures of the Marquis of Winchester, Sir Richard Sackville, and Sir Walter Mildmay. A book was kept in the Office of letters written by the Council for the receipt of money for the Tents and Revels. Probably the payments should have been made by way of 'imprests' or advances, but they were often behindhand. In 1552-3 a year's arrear of £328 6s. 0d. was due to creditors and workmen. When his accounts were made up in 1555 Cawarden had a claim for £643 4s. 3d. A schedule of debts owing in the Office was made out in 1559. The total disbursements of Tents and Revels for 1550-55, apart from salaries and office charges, amounted to £1,746 10s. 3d., including £389 4s. 9d. for the Lord of Misrule at Christmas, 1552. Two banqueting-houses

¹ The Loseley archives appear to include (a) Particulars of Revels Accounts for each of the years 1544-5, 1545-6, and 1546-7, together with painters' bills by Anthony Toto del Nuntiato and Nicholas Lysard and pay-books for the erection of a banqueting house at Hampton Court belonging to the same period; (b) a Ledger of the Tents and Revels for 1550-55, several copies of a Certificate or Original Account for the same period, and various subsidiary estimates and bills; (c) a similar Ledger and a copy of the Original Account by Cawarden's executors for 1555-9. The Declared Account for the same period is preserved in the Audit Office and Pipe Office records (*Declared Accounts*, 73, 277). For the period 1547-50 only two inventories are calendared, but there are extracts for these, as for other years, in Kempe, 69-92, and therefore the Accounts may be still at Loseley.

² Kempe, 85.

in Hyde and Marylebone Parks for the coming of the French ambassador, Marshal St. André, in 1551, cost the Tents and Revels £300, and the King's Works £133 6s. 8d.¹

Sir Thomas Cawarden lived just long enough to superintend the festivities at Elizabeth's coronation. He died at Nonsuch on August 29, 1559, and was buried at Bletchingley in Surrey, where he had a great house, costing £500 a year, with forty liveried retainers under special licence, on September 5.² His will contains legacies to Thomas Blagrove, his 'late servant', who was to be overseer, to Richard Lees, and to one Bryan Dodmer, son of Thomas Dodmer, gentleman, of whom we shall hear again. His wife Elizabeth was residuary legatee, and executor in company with William More of Loseley, son of Sir Christopher More, who had been Cawarden's near neighbour in the Blackfriars. The Blackfriars property was to be sold, and accordingly it was conveyed by Lady Cawarden and William More on December 20, 1559, and re-conveyed back to them two days later. Lady Cawarden herself died in February, 1560, leaving More as her executor, and the Blackfriars estate remained in his hands.³ I am particular about this, because it was from Sir William More, as he had then become, that James Burbage bought in 1596 the 'seaven greate upper romes' formerly 'one greate and entire rome' and the adjoining buildings, of which he made the Blackfriars theatre.⁴ These premises stood near what was then the Pipe Office. I do not think that it can be assumed, as is sometimes done, that they were identical with the old Revels storehouses, but it is not impossible that the 'hall where the revels of the King were held', which apparently was not included in the grant of 1550 to Cawarden but remained Crown property, came, after the transfer of the Revels elsewhere, to be used as the Pipe Office.

Upon Cawarden's death, his offices were distributed. The

¹ *Hist. MSS.* vii. 606, 608, 615; Kempe, 44, 97; *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* iv. 47.

² Machyn, 208; Fry, *London Inquisitiones*, i. 195. Fleay, *Chronicle History of the London Stage*, 42, gets into hopeless trouble by mistaking this date.

³ Fry, i. 194; Kempe, 175; *Hist. MSS.* vii. 615, 616; Machyn, 225.

⁴ Halliwell-Phillipps, i. 299; *Hist. MSS.* vii. 653.

Mastership of the Tents was given to Henry Sackford of the Privy Chamber. Banqueting houses, however, which had originally been the concern of the Tents, seem now to have been put in charge of the Revels. The Mastership of the Toils or hunting-nets was given to John Tamworth, also of the Privy Chamber.¹ I do not know when Cawarden had become Master of the Toils. Probably he succeeded Sir Francis Bryan, who was Master as early as 1518, and died February 2, 1550. About 1576 this post also passed to Henry Sackford.² The Mastership of the Revels was given, by a patent dated January 18, 1560, with the same annual fee of £10 received by Cawarden, to Sir Thomas Benger.³ The Clerk Comptroller and Clerk continued as in former years to be joint officers for the Tents and the Revels.⁴ Benger is a somewhat shadowy personage, and does not seem to have been a very effective Master. It is upon record that he gave Elizabeth a ring as a New Year's gift in 1562; that the Westminster boys rehearsed the *Heautontimoroumenos* and *Miles Gloriosus* before him in 1564 and spent 6*d.* on 'pinnes and suger candee'; that he got a licence to export 300 tons of beer in 1566; and that the corporation of Saffron Walden spent 3*s.* 6*d.* upon a 'podd' of oysters for him at Elizabeth's visit to Audley End in 1571.⁵ Apparently he began with good intentions. The following note is affixed to his first Revels' estimate, that for the Christmas of 1559-60.

Memorandum, that the chargeis for making of maskes cam never to so little a some [£227 11*s.* 2*d.*] as they do this yere, for the same did ever amount, as well in the Queenes Highnes tyme that now is, as at all other tymes hertofore, to the some of £400 alwaies when it was leaste.

M^m. also, that it may please the Quéenes Matie to appoint some

¹ Cf. *Memorandum A, infra*.

² *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cx. p. 536.

³ Rymer, *Foedera* (1713), xv. 565; Collier, i. 170, from privy seal.

⁴ Cf. *Memorandum A, infra*.

⁵ Nichols, *Progresses of Elizabeth*, i. 115, 280; *Athenaeum* (1903), i. 220; Collier, i. 185.

of her highnes prevy Counsaile, immediately after Shroftyde yerely, to surveye the state of the saide office, to thintent it may be knowne in what case I found it, and how it hath byn since used.

M^{ra}. also, that the saide Counsaillors may have auctoritie to appoint such fees of cast garments as they shall think resonable, and not the M^r. to appoint any, as hertofore he hath done; for I think it most for the M^{ra}. savegarde so to be used.¹

Apparently the cast garments were a perquisite of the Master, and were sold by him, doubtless to actors. There were similar perquisites in the Tents. Cawarden had bequeathed to Richard Lees 'all stuff and lumber of tentes, and other olde howses and tymber, as is nowe remayning within the place of M^r of the Tents'. The change in the Mastership led also to a change in the local habitation of the Revels. It is to be supposed that the buildings with which Cawarden had supplemented the official storehouse were no longer available after they had passed to his executors. In any case, it is stated in an official report forwarded by William Norton, the Surveyor of the Works, to Sir W. Cecil, at some date before the latter became Lord Burghley in 1571, that upon Cawarden's death the Office of the Revels was removed to the 'late Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem' in Clerkenwell. Probably the transfer had taken place by June 10, 1560, as an inventory was drawn up on that date of 'certeyne stuff remaynyng in the Black Fryers in London'.² The Tents, as well as the Revels, seem to have been moved to St. John's.³

So far as can be gathered from such accounts belonging to Benger's Mastership from 1559 to 1571, as have been preserved, he was not very well able to maintain his professions of economy.⁴ In 1560 a sum of £700 is recorded to have

¹ Collier, i. 171 (assigned in error to Cawarden); *S. P. Dom. Elis.* vii. 50.

² Collier, i. 232, from *Laud. MS.* 86; *Hist. MSS.* vii. 615.

³ Lady Derby writes to Sir Christopher Hatton in 1580 that she had been with her cousin Sackford (Master of the Tents) in 'his house at St. John's' (Nicolas, *Memoirs of Hatton*, 148). Cf. *Memorandum A*, *infra*.

⁴ An Account from Christmas, 1559, to Shrovetide, 1567, in *S. P. Dom. Elis.* xlii. 47, is a mere summary of totals. Estimates, warrants, and other minor documents bearing on the expenditure of the office from 1559 to 1570 are noted in

been due and unpaid for the Revels. The expenses of the Office during the progress of 1561 alone amounted to £3,209 10s. 8d.¹, and even apart from arrears, the warrants made out from time to time for Benger show that the normal cost of a year's festivities was well in excess of £400. With the year from February 28, 1571, to May 31, 1572, begins the series of years for which elaborate accounts exist in the Record Office, and were printed by Peter Cunningham in 1842.² These are Original Accounts, or Officers' Books of Account, rendered by the officers of the Revels to the Auditors of the Prest, who were officials established on the accession of Elizabeth in order to effect a more systematic and periodical control of state expenditure than had formerly prevailed. The Accounts, called in the Office 'Ledgers' or 'Particular Books',³ are of a detailed character and arranged, more or less, under heads. Schedules of the plays and masks given during the periods to which they relate are in some cases attached. Originally they were accompanied by vouchers, and possibly also by other records of current expenditure kept during the year. From them the Auditors drew up brief summaries, known as Declared Accounts, or Recorded Accounts, of which copies were filed in their own office and in that of the Pipe.⁴ A brief analysis of the Original Account for 1571-2 will show

S. P. Dom. Eliz. vii. 50; xxi. 23; xxxvi. 22; *Addl.* xviii. 13; Collier, i. 171, 172, 176, 184, 186, 187, 189. Doubtless there was a regular audit, as a warrant for 1567-8 (Collier, i. 187) refers to a 'Legiere Booke . . . remayninge with the Auditors of our preste'

¹ Collier, i. 172, from *Lansd. MSS.* 4, 5.

² Cunningham prints eleven books covering the periods—(i) Feb. 1571-May 1572; (ii) June 1572-Oct. 1573; (iii) Nov. 1573-Feb. 1574; (iv) March 1574-Feb. 1575; (v) March 1576-Feb. 1577; (vi) Feb. 1578-Oct. 1579; (vii) Nov. 1579-Oct. 1580; (viii) Nov. 1580-Oct. 1581; (ix) Nov. 1582-Oct. 1583; (x) Nov. 1584-Oct. 1585; (xi) Nov. 1587-Oct. 1588. Another book, which does not seem to be in the Record Office, Nov. 1583-Oct. 1584 is quoted by Cunningham, xlviii, but not printed. Cunningham also prints books for Nov. 1604-Oct. 1605 and Nov. 1611-Oct. 1612. These are forgeries, but may be based upon genuine originals formerly among the Records.

³ Cunningham, 123, 153, 'Lidgerd . . . lydgerd.'

⁴ Malone, *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821), iii. 363; Cunningham, xlv, 'The number of plays performed in the year was always given, but not a title or a dramatic name, or anything beyond the mere pounds, shillings, and pence.' The Audit Office series runs from 1572 to 1670.

the general character of the entries. I can only dwell, in the present notes, upon those which relate to the organization of the Revels Office, and not upon those of merely dramatic or scenic interest. This main account runs from the end of Shrovetide, 1571, to the end of Shrovetide, 1572, and covers, firstly, a period of nine months from March to November, during which the occupation of the Office was limited to the airing and safeguard of 'stuff' and attendance upon the Master during the progress, and, secondly, an active three months of revels and preparation for revels, from December to February. This expenditure is accounted for under two main heads, *Wages and Allowances* and *Emptions and Provisions*. It may be abstracted as follows:—

A. WAGES AND ALLOWANCES.

(i.) *March to November.*

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Tailors and Attendants . . .	26	0	0			
Attendants (9) on Progress . .	13	19	0			
Porter (60 days) . . .	3	0	0			
Diet of Officers (60 days) . .	30	0	0			
Necessaries bought by Yeoman .	3	13	0	76	12	0

(ii.) *December to February.*

Tailors and Attendants . . .	113	8	8			
Property-makers, Embroiderers, Haberdashers . . .	39	1	2			
Painters . . .	35	18	2			
Porter (80 days, 15 nights) . .	4	15	0			
Diet of Officers (80 days, 15 nights) .	47	10	0	240	13	0

B. EMPTIONS AND PROVISIONS.

(i.) *March to November.*

Nil.

(ii.) *December to February.*

Mercers (4) . . .	938	8	7
Draper . . .	52	15	3
Upholster . . .	32	5	8
Silkwomen (Joan Bowll and an- other) . . .	74	14	4½
Petty Cash (Comptroller) . .	1	0	0
„ „ (Yeoman) . . .	80	11	2

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Implements for Properties . . .	14	11	1			
Furrier	2	2	6			
Colours	13	16	1			
Winedrawer	6	16	0			
Vizards (Thomas Giles) . . .	4	5	0			
Necessaries for Hunters . . .	1	1	8			
Device for Thunder and Lightning	1	2	0			
Chandler	5	15	5			
Hire of Armour	3	9	8			
Buskin-maker	0	11	4			
Brian Dodmer (travelling ex- penses, &c.)	3	0	0			
Boat-hire, &c., for Comptroller .	1	0	0			
„ „ Clerk (<i>per</i> John Drawater)	1	0	0			
Green cloth, &c., for Clerk . .	3	6	8	1,241	12	5½

Summa Totalis.

	£	s.	d.
Wages and Allowances	317	5	0
Emptions and Provisions	1,241	12	5½
	<u>£1,558</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>5½</u>

In many cases reference is made to the bills of the tradesmen for further details. At the end of the account is appended a supplementary account, amounting to £26 3s. 2d., for the three months from March to May, 1572, during which a further airing took place.¹ There is also a list of six plays and six masks performed during Christmas and Shrovetide. The plays were acted by companies of men or children who were 'apparelled and furnished', and provided with 'apt howses, made of canvasse, framed, fashioned and paynted accordingly' by the Revels Office. It is noted that the six plays were 'chosen owte of many and fflownde to be the best that then were to be had; the same also being often perused and necessarily corrected and amended by all the afforeseide officers'. Four

¹ Collier, i. 197, from *Lansd. MS.* 9, gives the total cost of Revels for the period as £3,905 os. 7d., instead of £1,585 os. 7d. Perhaps this includes expenses charged to the Wardrobe; cf. p. 25.

of the masks were new; the other two 'were but translated and otherwise garnished being of the former number by meanes wherof the chardge of workmanshipp and attendaunce is cheefely to be respected'. In spite of this laudable effort after economy, the total cost, which in the time of Benger's predecessor was to be reckoned in hundreds of pounds, must now be reckoned in thousands. It will be observed that the Account does not include any items for the fees of the officers or for the hire of lodgings or storehouses. The former were payable under their patents at the Exchequer, the latter provided in the royal house of St. John's. The officers get an allowance for diet when on active duty, either in the time of airings or in that of revels; and this is fixed, for each day or night, at 4s. for the Master, 2s. for the Clerk Comptroller, 2s. for the Clerk, and 2s. for the Yeoman. There is a similar allowance of 1s. for a Porter, described more fully in a later account as the Porter of St. John's Gate. His name was John Dauncy.¹ The Account discloses some changes in the establishment since 1559. Thomas Blagrove is still Clerk. Richard Lees had been succeeded as Clerk Comptroller on December 30, 1570, by Edward Buggin. During the earlier part of the period John Holt is still Yeoman, but exercises his functions through a deputy, William Bowll; he was replaced by John Arnold on December 11, 1571.² Amongst the Lansdowne manuscripts is a letter to Cecil from William Bowll, written at some date after March, 1571, in which he recites that he has recently delivered to Cecil letters from the Lord Treasurer (the Marquis of Winchester), Sir Thomas Benger, and John Holt, for a joint grant of the Yeomanship to himself and John Holt; that he has long served as Holt's deputy and paid him money on a composition as well as meeting some of the debts of the office; that Holt is now dead and that he and his family will be undone unless Cecil procures him the office.³ His suit, however, was obviously unsuccessful. Holt's tenure of the Yeomanship had thus extended from 1546 or 1547 to 1571.

¹ Cunningham, 4, 16, 201.

² *Lord Chamberlain's Books*, 811, ff. 180, 326.

³ *S. P. Dom. Eliz. Add.* xx. 101; Collier, i. 230, who thinks that the application was for the Mastership of the Revels.

He may himself have been an actor, if, as seems likely, he is the 'John Holt, momer', who received a reward for attendance on the Westminster boys at a pageant given by them before the Merchant Taylors Company in 1561. He got another fee of 10s. from the Westminster boys when they played at Court during the Christmas of 1564.¹

If Arnold was appointed in the winter of 1571, it was against him, rather than against Holt or his deputy Bowll, that a complaint was lodged with Burghley about a year later by one Thomas Giles. Giles was one of the tradesmen of the Revels. He is described in the Accounts as a haberdasher, and purchases of vizards were made from him. The burden of his complaint was that the officers of the Revels, and particularly the Yeoman, who had the custody of the masking garments, were in the habit of letting these out on hire, to their manifest deterioration, and, one fears, also to the injury of Giles's business. He enumerates twenty-one occasions upon which masks, including the new cloth of gold, black and white, and murrey satin ones, made for the Queen's delectation during the previous Christmas, had been so let out to lords, lawyers, and citizens, in town and country, between January and November, 1572.² There is other evidence of some disorganization in the Revels at this time. The Account for 1571-2 just described is not signed by Benger, although he is referred to in it as Master during the year and as attending the progress of 1571, but only by the three inferior officers. A sum of £50 was paid on May 4, 1572, to Lewes Stocket, Surveyor of the Works, for what he had done towards the plays of the previous Christmas. In June, 1572, the Duc de Montmorency came to London as ambassador from France, and a mask and banqueting-hall were prepared for his entertainment at Whitehall. For this occasion an imprest of £200 was made to Lewes Stocket and another of £300 to John Fortescue, Master of the Great Wardrobe. These payments may of course be explained as relating to expenses normally

¹ C. M. Clode, *Early History of the Merchant Taylors*, ii, 269; *Athenaeum* (1903), i, 220.

² Collier, i, 191, from *Lansd. MS.* 13.

incurred in the departments of the officers themselves in connection with the festivities. But they are not observed in other years, and leave a suspicion that certain deficiencies in the Master of the Revels were being supplied by the energy of his colleagues. A memorandum, dated July 12, 1572, of stuffs to the value of £3,757 8s., furnished by Fortescue, presumably in part for the reception of Montmorency and in part for the revels of the previous Christmas, to 'Sir Thomas Benger, Maitre de les Maskes, Revelles et Triumphes', is amongst Lord Burghley's papers, and is endorsed, 'Touching Sir Thomas Benger, K. late Master of the Revels.'¹ It seems clear that, by the summer of 1572, at the latest, Benger had discontinued the active exercise of his functions. He was not dead, for his will was proved on March 27, 1577.² Mr. Fleay allows himself the rather wild conjecture that he could not accord with the Earl of Sussex, who became Lord Chamberlain on July 13, 1572.³ Benger died much in debt personally, and the heavy cost of the 1572 revels suggests that, in spite of the professions with which he began his administration, he had in the end proved an extravagant and unbusinesslike Master. A passage in a memorandum by Thomas Blagrave, presently to be quoted, in which stress is laid on the need for a Master who is 'neither gallant, prodigall, nedye, nor gredye' may perhaps have its bearing upon this.⁴ There is nothing to show whether Benger surrendered his patent office when he ceased to perform its duties in 1572. Probably he did not, as no new patent for the Mastership was issued until after his death, and temporary provision was made for the conduct of the Office during the interval. For the Christmas of 1572 the oversight of it was committed jointly to Fortescue and to Henry Sackford, the Master of the Tents, and the whole of the Account for the period from June 1, 1572, to October 31, 1573, is signed by them, together with the inferior officers of the Revels. The expenses were not less than in the previous year, for they amounted to £1,427 12s. 6½d, in addition to

¹ Collier, i. 198, from *Lansd. MS.* 9.

² Chalmers, *Apology*, 482.

³ Fleay, *Chronicle History*, 45.

⁴ Cf. p. 46.

the value, not given, of 'Wardrobe stuff . . . not bowghte by any officer of the seide office, but delyvered to the office by John Fortescue, esquier'.¹ But there are signs of an ambition towards economy in entries showing that on several occasions during the year claims upon the Office were reduced after examination by the Comptroller and other officers.² The auditors in their turn had an eye upon the Office. A sum of £50 was originally included in the account with the explanation:—

Item more for new presses to be made thorowwte the whole storehowse for that the olde were so rotten that they coulde by no meanes be repayred or made any waye to serve agayne. The Queenes Majesties store lyeng now on the ffloore in the store-howse which of necessitie must preasently be provyded for before other workes can well begin. Which press being made as is desyred by the Officers wilbe a greate safegarde to the store preasently remayning and lyke-wise of the store to coom whereby many things may be preserved that otherwyse wilbe utterly lost and spoyled contynually encreasing her Majesties charge.

To this is appended a note:—

Not allowed for so moch as the same presses are not begon.³

It may be admitted that the cost of the Revels would have been less if the officers had been in a position to pay for the goods supplied to them in ready money. They probably got small 'imprests' or advances at the beginning of the year when they could, but for the most part they had to obtain credit and satisfy their tradesmen with debentures, redeemable when the accounts had been audited and a warrant under the privy seal for the payment of the certified expenses issued. Elizabeth succeeded to an exchequer already burdened with the debt of past reigns, and the issue of these warrants was often delayed. William Bowll had made it part of his claim to be appointed Yeoman in succession to John Holt that he

¹ Cunningham, 17. Sir Henry Herbert (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 97) notes Fortescue as having been Master of the Revels, but as 'not on record', i. e. I suppose, without a patent.

² Cunningham, 20, 23, 32, 39.

³ Cunningham, 46.

had made advances for 'payment to the workemen and other poore creditors for mony due unto them in the said office, accordinge to thear necessities before any warant graunted, only for to mayntayn the credit of the said office'. In the following letter, preserved amongst Burghley's papers, he makes an attempt to recover the sum due to him¹ :—

To the right honorable Lorde Highe Threasorer of Englande.

In moste humble wyse beseecheth *your honour* to be good unto him your Humble supplyant William Bowll one of thordonary yeomen of the queenes *Maiesties* Honorable chambre. Whereas at the earnest request of thoffycers of the Revells he hath delyvered into the said office within two yers and iij *quarters* laste paste dyvers *parcells* of wares ; for the which thear is due and owinge unto *your sayd oratour* the some of ccxxxvj^{li}, For a great porcion whearof *your said suppliant* is indebted to one Thomas Bate and dyvers others who do not only exclayne against *your said oratour* ; But do also sue and molest him in *the law* by all extreeme wayes and meanes, To the great Dyscredyt hurt Hynderance and vtter vndoinge of *your said orator* his wyff and children onles some spedy remedy may be had. In tender consideration wherof may yt please *your honour* of *your* accustomed cleamency and favourable goodnes to graunt *your warant* to some one who hath the custody of her *maiesties* Threasour to be derected for the said some of ccxxxvj^{li} to be delyvered to thofficers of the Revells, For them to pay over vnto *your said supplyant* for his Releeffe and in full payment of his due. And the said officers to stand charged as with so much *delivered* them in prest for the *which* they ar to accompt in thear Tottall accompt. Or otherwyse to delyver the said some ccxxxvj^{li} vnto *your said oratour* vpon his recognoysanc to repay the same at such tyme as her *maiestie* shall assigne her warant for the payment of that office Tharearage Due by her *maiestie* yet owinge, whereby *your honor* shall Bynde *your Said Supplyant* and his whole famyly to pray vnto god for the prosperous preservacion of *your honor* whome the Almighty Blis for ever.

¹ *Lansd. MS.* 83, f. 145. This letter, with Dodmer's and the first of the three *Memoranda* printed below, is described but not printed in Collier, i. 290. He ascribes them to 1597. In the MS. they and the other two memoranda are bound with documents relating to the Revels in 1597-8, and all the documents are dated in pencil 'July, 1597' by the librarians. But two of them refer specifically to 15 Eliz. (1572-3) and 16 Eliz. (1573-4), and the rest fit naturally into the circumstances of that period.

This is endorsed :—

The humble petition of William Bowll beseeching *your Honour* to Defend Him from Rwyn which is presently Enteringe vpon him ; and in another hand

For ccxxxvj^{li} due to him for wares delyvered to the officers of *the* revells.

Side by side with Bowll's letter lies another, the signatory of which is that Bryan Dodmer to whom Sir Thomas Cawarden left a legacy in 1559, and who is shown by the Account of 1571-2 to have been at that date occupied in the affairs of the Revels Office, although not on the establishment.¹

To oure moste gracious soveraigne Lady the Queenes moste excellent Maiestye.

In moste humble wyze. The poore Creaditours and Artyfycers which serve thoffyce of *your Maiesties* Revells : are dryven of necessitye, thus now to trouble *your Maiestie* (more than otherwyze they wolde) by meanes of many evells which theye sustayne : through want of mony Due vnto them in the saide offyce, Especyally for One yeare and Nyne monethes ending the last of February in the xvijth yeare of *your Maiesties* Reaigne, (as maye appeare in the Bookes of the saide offyce, subscribed by John Forteskue, and Henri Sekforde esquiers : together with the offycers of the saide Revells : And also by ij Declaracons thereof, breiefely sett owte vnder the handes of ij of *your Maiesties* Awditors) One Thowsand Fyve hundred and Fyfty pownds fyve shillings and Eight pence : Wherof onlesse it maye please *your Maiestie* the sooner to graunt payment, it cannot be but that the myseryes of many must needes be very daungerusly augmented, and soome vtterly vndoone. Which they moste needefully beseeche *your Maiestie* for godes cause to prevent accordyng to *your* gracious compassion, whose days of godly peace, and Joye, they duly beseeche almighty god in mercy long to encrease.

This is signed :—

Poore Bryan Dodmer a creditour, to saue the labour of a great number whose exclamacion is lamentable.

¹ *Lansd. MS.* 83, f. 147.

The endorsement is:—

The poore Creditours and Artificers which serve thoffice of your Maiesties Revells moste needefully desyer payment of Dettes vnpaide ij yeares and more 1550^{li}/5^s/8^d/

As may appere by the Awditours declarcions *delivered* to Mr Secretary Wallsingham.

The period of a year and nine months ending on Feb. 27, 16 Eliz. [1574], referred to in Brian Dodmer's letter, is exactly covered by two of the Revels Accounts printed by Cunningham, that of Fortescue and Sackford for 1572-3, and a later one, signed by Blagrove and the other Revels officers only, and running from Nov. 1, 1573, to Feb. 27, 1574. The two years and three-quarters of Bowll's undated letter may perhaps be taken as being the same period with the addition of the year 1571-2, for which we know that he had himself made advances to the other creditors. The arrears of debt had clearly not been wiped out by the spring of 1574. But there is evidence that the affairs of the Revels Office had been receiving Burghley's attention during the previous summer in the shape of three memoranda, apparently drawn up by three different hands for his information, one of which with approximate certainty, and the other two with fair probability, can be referred to this date. I print them here, practically for the first time, and give reasons for my belief that they are the work of the three officers of the Revels who were still acting in 1573, Edward Buggin, the Clerk Comptroller, Thomas Blagrove, the Clerk, and John Arnold, the Yeoman.¹ I have already printed the opening passages of *Memorandum A*, which contains a little historical sketch of the origin and development of the Revels.² The writer then continues:—

¹ *Memoranda A, B, and C* are all in *Lansd. MS. 83*. Collier, i. 290, mentions *A* and misdates it 1597. R. W. Bond, *Works of John Lyly*, i. 39, corrects the date and gives extracts. Halliwell-Phillipps printed *A*, not from the *Lansdowne MS.*, but from a MS. then in the Haslewood Collection, now *Add. 19256*, which is a copy of the original paper made for Sir Henry Herbert in connection with one of his post-Restoration lawsuits. Halliwell-Phillipps printed, about 1874, another Revels document, but I cannot at this moment trace a copy.

² Cf. p. 1.

Memorandum A.

Yf the offices of the Tenters and Toyles might in tyme be vnyted agayne into the said office of the Revelles, The prince might thereby have an office of better accompte. The officers might also be the better enhabled to do her maiestye good service and her highnes charges might somewhat be dyminished. The habilyte of the officers of the Revelles for their trust and skill might sufficiently serve for execucion of anye of the other offices.

The offices bi deathe to be vnyted agayne into one.

The woorkemen servinge in the Revelles may very aptly serve in the other offices.

The prouision maye be made by one Comission for all.

The Storehouses of theym all be presentlye in one place.

The Clerke Comptroller and the Clerke of the Revelles have hitherto bene and yet are officers both for the Revelles and tenters. Syr Thomas Carden, as I am enformed, hadde the dealinges of all three offices at once.

It maye be thought that if the officers weare discharged, That the Quenes maiestye might be served by some one person to take charge thereof after a rate for lesse then her maiestye is now charged with. This muche I knowe, That the officers whiche be presentlye in the saide office doe spende in the convenyent service of the prince, whiche of necessitye cannot be avoyded havinge consideration what is meete and due to the Princes service, more then is allowed by the prince in fee or wages for the execucion of the said office. I suppose that anye one, that will enter into that service for tyme of Continuaunce after a rate, will rather seeke to gayne by it then loose by it. And then will the office be more chargeable to the prince then nowe it is. I see not howe anye man takinge it by an annuall rate canne performe it, but either the Prince must be overcharged or the partye muche hyndered and in daunger of vndoyng, vnles he be of very greate wealthe. Bycause the charge of that office will alwayes growe accordinge to the princes pleasure, if the party be overcharged releife wilbe sought and obtayned at the princes handes (and by that meanes the more easelye to be adventured to be taken in hande); yf the prince shalbe overcharged by the rate so muche the more wilbe the parties gayne, if the partye shall gayne anye thinge thereby. It is more then the officers presentlye desire to doe.

Howe the office might be taken in ferme after a rate is very vncertaine.

The next waye after a rate that canne be devised is for the prince to appoynt an ordynarye, howe manye maskes, howe manye playes,

No rate can well be made of thoffice.

everye maske of what value, everye playe of what charge ; wherein the number is to be considered and the richenes of the stuffe. Devises and shoves cannot well be put in number or valued for the charge that shal belonge therevnto. Yf there shalbe an ordynarye charge and an extraordynarye as it must needes, because princes are alwayes to have thinges accordinge to their pleasure, Then is it not of certentye for anye man to gesse the annuall charge. For the banquetinge houses the charges will growe accordinge to the princes pleasure, in the number of theym, in the length bredth fasshion and forme of theym, and in the costlye or sleight deckinge or trymynge of theym. The charges thereof, as I thinke, cannot be well gessed and therefore not to be vndertaken by annuall rate but either the prince overcharged or the partye as aforesaid in hazarde of vndoinge.

The
number of
officers
breedes not
the charge
to the
Prynce.

For the number of officers that be presentlye or for the Princes charge in that behalfe It maye be sayed and trulye sayed, That they and their servauntes, if everye one hadde more then they have, weare not to manye to looke to all the workemen, both for the hast of the preparacion and safegarde of the stuffe, whiche some of the woorkemen and manye there is readye to spoyle suche or steale without good oversight. No officer careful of the office, but shall of necessitye spende more then his fee and wages cometh vnto and be driven to attende and watche both daye and night. Noe service more troublesome for the tyme of the woorkes then the service of the Revelles, both for the bodye and the mynde. The fee and wages, whiche anye one of the officers hath, will not in my symple opynyon suffice to maynteyne any man, beinge of meane and symple estate, accompted the princes officer (havinge nothinge els to take to), albeit he were a sole man without charge of wife or children.

The
Eyringes
necessarie.

It may be thought that the charges maye growe to muche for the Eyringes. It is very convenient the stuffe be layed abroade and eayred, and that the officers in tyme of Eayringe be present to see to the safetie of it, and to gather vpon the layinge of it abroade certen devises from tyme to tyme, howe thinges translated or amended maye serve afterwarde to good purpose, where otherwise it is not possible for the officers to carye in memorye the forme of thinges, they be so manye and of suche diversitye, whiche manye tymes maye serve as well to purpose, as if the Quenes Maiesty should be at charge to make newe. A tyme of eyringes maye be certenlye appoynted and howe manye dayes everye Eyringe shall laste.

For the better execucion of the office of the Revelles, in my simple opinion, yf one officer more weare added to the office the prince might be the better served and the office better ordered, whereof I most humblye crave to vtter my meaninge.

First I woulde wishe for the princes honour, That some one of Countenaunce and of creditt with the prince might beare the name of *Master*, Suche as the Quenes Maiestye thought meetest to receyve her highnes pleasure from tyme to tyme attendaunte in the Courte, and to delyver the same over by speache or platt to one suche as followeth videlicet :

A Seriaunte of the Revelles learned and skilfull howe to execute the devise receyved, or to invente a newe meete and necessarye with the allowaunce of the *Master*, whiche *seriaunte* is thoroughly to followe the devise in the office of the Revelles from the begynnyng to the latter ende. For if a platte be never so well devised, yf it be not aswell followed, it will never come to his perfeccion. Whiche said Seriaunt, after the devise of the *Master*, is to bend hymselfe wholye to devise and to see everye man to woorke accordinge to his devise, whiche will occupye hym sufficientlye and thoroughlye ; and this will muche ease the *Master*, who canhot alwayes wayte vpon the Queenes pleasure and vpon the devise and all the workemen, for therevnto maye belonge devise vpon devise. The Seriaunt besides is with the *Master* and the reast of the officers to be at the rehersall of playes, he is to conceyve the Masters opynyon, to correcte and chaunge the matter after the Masters minde, to see wrought and sett fourthe anye devise that belongeth therevnto, that ought to be followed for matter of learninge and devise. The rest of the officers for the provision of the stuffe and for makinge of the garmentes and other thinges accordinglye.

The Maister and Seriaunte are bothe to calle and conferre with the Clerke Comptroller, Clerke and yeoman of the office, howe their devise maye be ordered to the lesse charge of the prince, with the helpe of suche stuffe as the office is furnyshed alreadye withall ; And that the devise growe not more chargeable then well satisfying the princes expectacion of necessitye it ought.

The Clerke Comptroller is to be contynuallye attendaunte in the office of the Revelles in the tyme of service, who in dede shoulde have the speciale charge of husbandinge of the stuffe or prouision of the office and of checke and rate for the prynces comoditye, but to provide no stuffe of anye greate charge to the prince nor deliver

the like to be occupied without warraunte from the *Master* or *Seriaunte*. The *Clerke Comptroller* to kepe with the *Clerke* of the same office a *Jornall booke* of the charge of the office, both their *Jornall booke*s to be extant at all tymes of the woorkes in the office, to the ende the *Master* and *Seriaunte* maye be alwayes privye therevnto. The *Clerke Comptroller* to make noe prouision of anye matter of weight in charge to the Prince without the consent of the *Master* and *Seriaunte* and the privitie of the rest of the officers for the price.

The
Clerkes
office.

The *Clerke* is to note all the partes of the service from tyme to tyme, to kepe perfect booke, to enter all the woorkemans names, to call theym moornyng and eveninge and other tymes of the daye by name, to note their absence, to make the *Clerke Comptroller* privie to their defaultes, whereby he maye checke theym of their wages accordinge to their desertes. The *Clerke* is also to make vppe and perfitt all reconynges considered of by the officers, besides the keapinge his *Jornall booke*, whiche *Clerke* maye be a good witnes of the good or ill service of the Prince and a meete man, by reason of entringe of the charges, to discerne whether the Prince be abused in the service or noe.

The
Masters
Superior-
itye.

The *Master* of the office alwayes to have auctorityte to call to accompte any the said officers for anye thinge apperteyninge to the princes service.

Question
of ordy-
naunces.

It maye be also thought that the *Master* of an office is to have the onelye care and governement of the same accordinge to his discretion, without further order to be prescribed then suche as he shall appoynte. And it maye be thought also vnmete and inconvenyent, that inferiour officers shoulde seeke to procure anye other ordynaunces or articles besides. But forasmuche as a platte forme of certen ordynaunces¹ touchinge the said office hathe bene before my tyme delyvered over to some of the Quenes Maiesties most honorable privye Counsell, The whiche or the cople whereof remayneth with some of theym, as I am enformed, at this present, I make bolde to bringe to remembraunce some parte of those ordynaunces hereafter followinge, and to adde therevnto some more articles and ordynaunces to be considered of, whiche ratified and allowed by the Quenes Maiesties Counsell woulde, I suppose, stande the office in verye good steede for the princes better service. And touchinge the cause that doth me to be of that mynde whereof others weare before

¹ Perhaps the reference is to the *Constitutions* of Cawarden's time (p. 12).

me, I desire that two poyntes next followinge maye specialle be noted.

The one whether the Quenes Maiestie or her highnes privy Counsell shall please to allowe, That the *Master* of the said office shall have suche absolute power and authoritye as that the vnder officers shall onelye doe that whiche he comaundeth, and that the *Master* onelye shall make prouision, rate price of wares and stuffe, rate wages, give allowaunce of all manner of thinges accordinge to his discesion onelye, And that his hande set to the booke for all allowaunces and charges whatsoever shalbe sufficient warraunte to the inferiour officers to subscribe their handes to the booke whereby the prince is to be charged, and to make payment for the same accordinglye. If this maye be vnderstanded to the inferiour officers to be the princes pleasure and that some warraunt might be hadde in that behalfe, Then shall they be assured that, performinge their diligence accordinge to the Masters appoyntement, they shalbe free from the princes blame, and besides not accomptable to the prince, but onelye to the *Master* of the said office; The *Master* onelye to have prayse or blame for the well or yll execucion of the office and he onelye to aunswere for all thinges done in the said office. In this poynte the Inferiour officers shall neede no other ordynaunce then suche as the *Master* shall prescribe.

One pointe concerninge the Masters authoritie whether ordinaunces be requisite or no.

But this perhappes maye followe, that if the *Master* shalbe blamed for thinges not done accordinge to the princes expectacion, that he will partelye excuse hym selfe and alledge that he cannot so well rule the inferiour officers, beinge the princes sworne servauntes, as he coulede his owne. So maye the *Master* put the blame from hym selfe to theym, Albeit they wilbe more careful to obeye those his commaundementes which apperteyne vnto the princes service, as dutye bindeth theym to doe, then his owne servauntes woulde be. Surelye this waye, without verye good choyce of a speciall good *Master*, The prynce maye be worse served, Then if the *Master* onelye shoulde take the charge throughlie to performe it by hym selfe and his owne servauntes. For when blame maye be shifted of by one meane or other, There wilbe the lesse foresight howe to avoide it. Thus muche of the first poynte.

The other poynte, yf there shalbe a *Master* of the said office, that will vse anye indirect dealinges whereby the prynce may be ill served, And that the Quenes Maiestie doth make accompte that the inferiour officers shoulde helpe it or complayne for remedye, It is

A Seconde pointe concerninge ordinaunces.

not for Inferiour officers to repugne the *Master* his doinges, hym selfe beinge in place, Albeit there be never so greate cause, but shalbe ruled over as shall please the *Master*, vnles some good ordynaunces remayninge of recorde in the same office, discribinge perticulerlye everye mans charge for most necessarye dealinges, weare to leade order therein, And the same ordynaunces, ratified and allowed either by authoritie of the Prince or some of her Maiestyes most honorable Pryvie Counsell, at all tymes to be extant in the said office. For when matters of greate charge are to be executed with greate spede, Inferiours with superiours are not to dispute or to vse controversye concerninge their auctoritie given to theym by patent, especialle with a *Master* of an office. Therefore desired that these ordynaunces and Articles hereafter followinge maye be considered of, and standinge with the princes pleasure or the pleasure of the Counsell to be commaunded to be penned and perfited by some suche as theye shall thinke meete, and ratified and allowed.

Ordi-
naunces
con-
cernynge
the
Reuelles.

Articles and ordynaunces concernynge the office of the Revelles, as well for the due execucion of all workes laboures and attendaunces and other busynes to be done exercised and practized within the same office, as for the prouision receipt induccion employment bestowinge safe-kepinge and true aunsweringe of all suche store garmentes vestures tooles instrumentes and other vtensells and employmentes of the same, for the good and due vsage thereof to the most honour proffitte and good service of the Quenes Maiestie, by her highnes with the aduise of her most honorable pryvy Counsell the daye of Anno domini, in the fiftenth yere of her most gracious Reigne, appoynted established and straitlye commaunded to be observed performed fulfilled and kepte of the officers workemen attendauntes and all others chargeable and that have to doe within that office, in all poyntes accordinge to certain articles and Instruccions herevnder lymtyed videlicet.

Meetinge
of officers
togethers.

First, against Hollantide Christmas Candemas and Shrovetide and all other tymes appoynted for preparacion of any thinge to be done within the office or for the accomplishment of any appoyntement from the prince, or by speciall warraunte or order from the Lorde Chamberleyne, the vice Chamberleyne, or others, in that behalfe auctorised or assigned, The *Master* and Officers aforesaid shall repayer to the office, and there togethers pervse the remayne of the whole stuffe and other store lefte at the last vewe, For consideration what is best and meetest, to make that whiche is there alreadye

to stretche to serve to the turne requyred with lest spoyle and charges, And what monye is to be demaunded in prest as well for payment daylie to be yssued, as for husbandrye of emcions to be hadd at lesse price for readye monye then canne be gotten of trust, or otherwise as shalbe most expedient for the Quenes Maiesties better service.

Whiche platt devised to be drawen and sett fourthe in payntinge by some connyng Artificer in that Arte, and to be considered of by all the officers, And the best devise that canne be to serve the prince, accordinge to the devisers inuencion with lest charge to the prince as aforesaid, may be vused as shall seeme meete to the Master of the said office.

The trust concernynge the princes charges in that office woulde be comytted to some careful and diligent persons, suche as will more regarde the princes profitt then their owne paynes, more the princes savinge then their owne commoditye, more the pleasinge of the prince then the displeasure of wastfull persons and that of a greate number, whiche have bene are and wilbe continuallye gapinge after spoyle in the same office. Those servitours must be continuallye attendaunt within the said office, and have authoritee to rate prices, to rate wages, to place and displace anye workeman misdemeanyng hym selfe, not beinge an officer appoynted by patent.

The Trust
of the
office.

The cheife busynes of the office resteth specialle in three poyntes, In makinge of garmentes, In makinge of hedpeces, and in payntinge.

The cheife
busines of
the office.
The con-
ninge of
the office.

The connyng of the office resteth in skill of devise, in vnderstandinge of historyes, in iudgement of comedies tragedyes and showes, in sight of perspective and architecture, some smacke of geometrye and other thynges; wherefore the best helpe for thofficers is to make good choyce of cunynge artificers severally accordinge to their best qualitie, and for one man to allowe of an other mans invencion, as it is worthie, especialle to vnderstande the princes vayne, and to order it so that everye man may learne somewhat the more what service meaneth, and as everye officer maye be made the more able to serve. For whiche service there would be an order made, as nere as maye be, what shoulde be everye mans charge within the office accordinge to his skill and habilitie etc.

At the beginnyng of the woorkes the Clerke Comptroller and yeoman are to agree howe manye woorkemen shalbe appoynted to woorke, and their names to be entred ymedatelye into the Clerkes booke, and their wages agreed vpon and rated by the Clerke Comptroller, [none] otherwise comynge to woorke without that

Howe
workemen
shall be
appoynted.

order. The Clerke Comptroller to discharge the prince of charges for theym.

Howe
many
howers
workemen
shall
worke.
The entrie
and checke
of their
names.
For prest
mony.

Everie of those workemen to woorke for their dayes wages tenne howres and for their night wages sixe houres.

And for the better execucion of these workes The Clerke of the said office shall keepe entrie of their contynuaunce at worke and delyver over a Coppye of their names, to thende the Clerke Comptroller maye checke their defaultes.

As it weare necessarye that monye shoulde be allowed in prest for the better service of the said office, because readye monye will muche further to the abatement of a greate parte of charge, that otherwise woulde be more burdenous to the prince by givinge credite to the office, soe is it meete to appoynte to whom the ymprest shalbe delyvered, by whom it may most convenyentlye be layed fourthe that a iuste employment thereof may be aunswered.

Concern-
ynge stuffe
brought
into the
office.

And lykewise for the receipte of stuffe from the Quenes Maiesties greate warderobe or other places of store, there woulde be order to whom the stuffe brought into the office and entred into the Jornall bookes it shalbe delyvered in custodye, and in what sorte it shalbe delyvered out, that a iust employment may be made thereof and entred into the Jornall bookes.

For
empcions
in the
office.

For empcions of stuffe wantinge besides the warderobe store there woulde be an order taken, by whose warraunte everye thinge accordinge to the Qualitie thereof it maye be provided, into whose custodye, and by what order to be redelyvered, so as as iust employment maye be aunswered agayne thereof.

For re-
ceyvinge
thinges by
measure
and weight.

All stuffe brought into the office, the measure weight qualitie or quantite to be considered of by some one to be appoynted in the receipte, and so to be delivered by like weight measure etc, and the purpose shewed by the delyverer or demaunder, and entred perticularly into the Jornall bookes, In whiche cheifely and most commonlye are to be noted theis parcells followinge most vsuallye occupied.

Stuffe
cheifelye
occupied
in the
Revelles.

Warderobe stuffe, vizardes, heare, Lawne, Fringe, lace, Buttons, Buckerams, thredd, silke, wood, coles, lightes, collours for paynters, besides manye other thinges thousandes that cannot be rehersed presentlye.

Howe
wardrobe
stuffe may
be ordered.

For the warderobe stuffe, because it is a matter of greate charge to the prince, I have thought good partelye to declare myne opynion howe it maye be best ordered in receipte and in employment.

I take it the wardrobe stuffe, especiall^e for anye masse of stuffe, ^{A speciall order con- cernynge wardrobe stuffe.} wolde be delivered openlye in the office in the presence of the officers, and the same stuffe receyved measured out and entred into the Journall bookes; yt would then be put in cheste or presse, as shall seeme most convenyent, vnder the severall lockes and keys of the Master Clerk Comptroller and Clerke; when it shalbe taken out, the purpose therefore declared and entred into the Journall bookes, and likewise what cut out and what remayninge.

There would also be a speciall order that the yeoman shall ^{The employment of wardrobe stuffe.} cutte out noe garment but by the appoyntement of the Master or Clerke Comptroller, and in the presence of theym or one of theym and the Clerke, to thend it maye be entred into the Journall bookes what cutt out and what remayninge. Yf the Yeoman shall refuse so to doe or be absent in tyme of necessitie of the princes service, Then that the officers maye have libertye to call some other workeman in his place, to cutt out and make suche garmentes as shalbe requisite and needefull by reason of his absence or defaulte. Otherwise shall the officers be subiecte to the wilfulnes of the Yeoman in tyme of spede, and the yeoman maye also committe that wast whiche the officers cannot helpe. The Yeomans fees wolde be certeyne.

For Frynge lace and Buckerams etc, they maye remayne in ^{An order of employment of fringe lace etc.} presse or Chestes vnder the lockes and keys of the Clerke Comptroller and Clerke, to be deluyered over in their presence by their servauntes to suche as shall neede it, alwayes entringe the same into the Journall bookes, the cause wherefore etc, and in like sorte other stuffe of diverse kindes.

For woode, coles, lightes etc, the Clerke Comptroller to take suche ^{For woode and coles.} order as with the allowaunce of the Master shalbe thought meete.

For the paynters, prouision of colours to be made by the officers. ^{For painters and coloures.} And one of their servauntes to be contynuallye attendaunt vpon theym, so that as litle wast as maye be be vsed; the rest of the Coloures to be reserved and to put in a place of store. The paynters names and their servauntes to be entred, the tyme of their service, and their wages. Some one speciall officer to have commaundement over theym, and Commission to rate their wages, and to punyshe them for their absence or negligence; otherwise the prince is like most commonlye to be ill served of those kinde of men, bothe for absence, wages, wast and loytering, whiche breadeth the prince many tymes muche more charge then neadeth.

**Trans-
lacion of
garmentes.** Anye garment translated, vpon the newe translacion, woulde ymediatlye be brought and shewed vnto the Clerke Comptroller and Clerke, that the same maye be entred into the Journall bookes, in the same sorte as it is in his first forme to be discharged, and in the newe forme to be charged in the Indenture of Inventorye remayninge with the yeoman.

**Con-
cernynge
newe gar-
mentes
made in
the office.** Anye suyte of garmentes newe made, vpon the fynysheinge of the same, and anye other garment newe made woulde be entred into the Journall bookes vpon the fynysheinge of them, to thende they maye be afterwarde entred into the Indenture of Inventorye. This woulde be done before the tyme they be occupied in the princes service, to thende it maye be knowen what is lackinge, if anye disorder happen in the tyme of service, as many tymes it dothe.

**An order
for Pro-
perties.** And likewise all propertyes and other thinges newe made and fynyshe whatsoever to be likewise entred and so committed over to the yeoman, to take charge thereof till the service be done.

**Parte of the
Yeomans
charge.** The seruice done and all thinges shewed, It woulde be the yeomans charge to see all thinges safelye brought into the office, The whiche of hym selfe if he cannot doe the officers then to aide hym in that behalfe.

**Meetinge
of officers
after ser-
vice done.** The officers, all togethers if they canne, or the most parte of theym, within three dayes after the service done, to meete at the office and see the estate of every thinge as it remayneth, and cause every thinge to be fayer layed vppe and entred into the Indenture of Inventorye, and so delyvered over in charge of the yeoman safelye to be kepte.

**Considera-
cion of the
Journall
Bookes.** Item at that tyme woulde the Journall bookes be considered of, and the remayne of stuffe seene and noted, and the officers handes sett to the Journall bookes in allowinge or disallowinge, and order taken for the perfitinge vppe of theym into some breife order, whereto daye woulde be given as they see cause.

**Daie giuen
to Credi-
tours to
bringe in
their Billes.** At that tyme also woulde order be given what daye the Creditours shall bringe in their bills, at their perill, if any bill be not readye at that tyme, whiche woulde be a verye shorte daye, then that they tarye till the next accompte, For that the Clerke is to make vppe his bookes after the Bills brought in.

**The Prince
not to be
charged
but bi the
testimonye
of the
officers.** In that breife booke it woulde be ordered that the Clerke enter no bill or other matter to charge the prince or the office, unles the handes of the officers or suche of theym as shalbe appoynted shalbe subscribed therevnto.

And lykewise a greate Ligearde booke woulde be kepte in the office wherein that observacion woulde likewise be kepte by the Clerke.

A ligearde booke for the office.

At the bringinge of the breife booke woulde all debts to everye person be debentered under the handes of the Master or Clerke Comptroller, So that it may be knowen to everye Creditour what he is to trust to.

Debenters for the Creditours.

At that syttinge woulde order be given to a connyng paynter to enter into a fayer large ligeard booke in the manner of limnyng the maskes and shewes sett fourthe in that last service, to thende varyetye may be vsed from tyme to tyme.

A cunninge painter to put in recorde all shewes, maskes, etc.

It were goode that once everye quarter The officers did appoynte as it weare a quarter daye of meetinge, both to consider of the state of the office and of thinges meete and necessarye to be thought of concernynge the same.

A quarter daie to be kepte for meetinge of the officers.

Item once euery yere at a daye certen they all togethers to meete, and to consider of the stuffe, and to conferre the Inventorye with the same.

Item an Yerlie meetinge for the consideration of the Inuentorie. That the Queenes Maiesties stuffe be not lent forth.

Item concernynge the lending furthe of the Queenes Maiesties stuffe in the office of the Revelles, The stuffe once made and put in Inventorye resteth onelye in the Yeomans charge, who hath the keepinge of it by patent, and therefore the rest of the officers not to be charged for any misdemeanour concerninge the same. Nevertheless suche order may be taken therefore as shall seeme meete and convenient.

The officers of the Revelles (as other officers servinge the Queenes maiestie in other offices) have hadd their fees, whiche have bene knowen to be certen, for the whiche some order maye be taken, and noe hinderaunce to the Prince, and yet some suche benefitte to the officers, as therebye they maye be encoraged to serve the more paynefullye and somewhat the more be enabled to serve, and yet reape no more benefit then shall countervayle their charges spent in the Princes service, where otherwise, if pore men shalbe preferred to their offices, the Queenes Maiestie maye be worse served.

Officers fees to be considered of.

For the better execucion of the said office There woulde be a Commission for the same office, whiche wantinge the Queenes maiestye cannot be so well served, as otherwise her highnes may be, and yet noe Iniurye offred vnto the Subiectes; vnles they shall muche abuse theym selves in refusinge to doe convenient service for the prince it needeth not be vsed, whiche if they shall refuse to doe, It weare meete to have suche Cmission as might enforce theym, and

A commission verie necessarie for the office.

also punyshe theym and any other notorious malefactours concerninge the same office.

Memorandum B is written on two sheets.¹ The first, a very large one, contains a 'platte' of regulations, arranged rather fantastically in four columns. I have not found it possible to preserve this arrangement.

The office of Revelles, comprisinge all Maskes, tryvmphes, Plaies, and other shoves of Dispourte, with Banquettinge howses and like devises, to be vsed for the Anornemente of the Queenes Maiesties moste roiall Courte and her highnes recreacioun, pleasure and pastyme.

An order, as well for the dewe executione and well vsaige of all workes, laboures, attendaunces, and other busines to be done, exercised, or practized within that office, as for the provisione, receipte, inductione, ymployment, bestowinge, sawfe keepinge, and trewe aunsweringe of all suche stoore garmentes, vestures, tooles, Instrumentes, and other vtensilles and ymplementes of the same, for the good and due vsaige therof, to the moste honnour, profecte, and good service of the Quenes maiestie / Appointed, established, and commaunded to be observed, performed, fulfilled, and kepte of the officers, worckmen, attendaunt, and all others chardgeable and that have to doe within that office, in all points accordinge to certeine articles and instrucciones herevnder lymyted /

viz.²

[Col. 1.] The Mayster of the office, whoe oughte to be a man learned, of good engyne, inventife witte, and experience, aswell for varietie of straunge devises delectable, as to waye what moste aptlye and nyleye furnissheth the tyme, place, presence, and state, Shall haue the principall chardge of thoffice, to giue order for that is there to be done, and to see the hole affaires and orders of the same executed as hereafter is described, viz.

Clarke Comptroler, whoe oughte to be of good experience and acquainted wth thaffaires of the office, aswell for Deuise and settinge oute of the same, as for knowledge of the price and valewe of stuffe and woorkmanshippe, shall vewe, peruse, and oversee the measure, weighte, tale, Rates and prices, and states of all prouisions

¹ *Lansd. MS.* 83, f. 154.

² The 'viz.' in this heading and in the paragraphs in col. 1 refers to the succeeding columns.

and ymplementes, and shall see all the busines of thoffice diligently wroughte and attended, and the Defaultes checked, accordinge to thorders hereafter described / viz.

The Clarke, whoe oughte to be of like engine, experience, knowledge, and acquainetaunce, and noe lesse skilfull in Reconinges and accomptes for the cawses aforesaide, shall take the entrie of all worckes, laboures, attendaunces, and other busines done, exercised, or practized with in the office, and likewise the measure weighte and tale of all Stoore, provisionnes, ymploymentes, and remaines of all that goeth into or oute of the office, or ys ymployed or altered in the same, accordinge to the orders hereafter Discribed / viz.

The Yomane of thoffice, whoe oughte to be of good Capacitie, knowledge, experience, and acquaintaunce with thaffaires of the office, aswell for vnderstandinge of devise and settinge fourthe of the same, as for castinge and ymployinge of the stuffe to the furdeste stretche of sarvice and most advauntaige, Shall doe or cawse to be cutte owte made and furnished all the garmentes and vestures with their peeces vtensilles and properties, Have, take in chardge, and sawfe keepe the same remaininge whole, And see all the worckes and busines of thoffice w^{it}hin his chardge diligentely wroughte and attended, accordinge to thorders hereafter Discribed, viz. /

[Col. 2.] Fyrste againste Hollontide, Christmas, candlemas, Shroftetide, easter, whitsontide, Progres, and all other tymes accustomed for preparacion of anye thinge to be done with in the office, or for accomplisshment of anye appointment by speciall warraunte, ordre, or the Queenes maiestes pleasure signified by the Lorde Chamberleyne, the vice Chamberleyne, the Master of thoffice, or others in that behalfe auctorized or assigned, The Master and officers afforsaide shall repaire to the office, and there to gether pervse the remaines of the whole stuffe and other stoare left at the laste vewe; for consideracion what provisione is beste and meeteste, to make that, which is there alreadye, stretche to serve the turne required w^{it}h leaste spoile and chardges: And what monnye is to be demaunded in prest, aswell for paymentes dailie to be yssued, as for husbandrye of Empcions to be had at lesse price, for readye monnye, then can be gottenn of truste.

Vppon Conclusion of the preparacionn and prouisione therefore made, suche artificers and worckmen as are meeteste for the purpose shalbe called, And euerye facultie not convenientlye matching with

others to be sorted by themselves, and in euery compaine one of the moste skilfull and trustie to be appointed wardeine of the reste.

Euerye of those parsonns shall worcke, for the whoale daye Tenne howres and for the whoale nighte but fyve howres, for that the watche deserveth doble waige.

And for the better execucion of those wourckes, the Clarke shall in the furste daye of the same, Make a blancke booke *with* diuers margentes, and furste above in the heade, a title declareinge the nature and state of the Wourcke then in hande, and what daye of the monnethe the same begane, and therevnder in the furste margente the names of the artificers, worckmen and attendauntes, with the rate of theire waiges, in the seconde margente somanye Siphers or circles as frome the begynninge of the worckes are daies to the latter ende of that weeke and in euerye other margente of that leafe vij Siphers for whole weekes, accomptinge mondaye to be the furste and soe to thende of the weekes.

The counterpayne of that blancke booke to be deliuered to the Clarke Comptroller, for comptrolmente of the Defaults, whose order shalbe to checke euerye worcke howre of the daye in the vpper parte of his proper Sipher, viz for the forenone on the outside of the Arke and the afternone on the ynside, and in the nether parte thereof shall allowe or checke the howres of the nighte wroughte and attended, And euerye daye wherein noe worcke was, the Sipher to be holie blotted; the same soe checked to be deliuered to the clarke that thereby the dewe may be rated and entered into A /¹

[Col. 3.] Booke called the Journall of thoffice, wherein shalbe perticulerlye entered and expressed the state of the whoale woorckes (viz), what was contrived, where and before whome it was vsed or wherefore prepared, the tyme of the worckes, // whoe wroughte and attended them, and the waiges and duties thereof, and all empcions and other chardges, *with* the seuerall contentes, quantities, coloures, fourmes, prices, values, and rates, in theire proper natures and sourtes, and howe where and of whome theye were prouided bowghte or hadd /

[Col. 2.] All monnye receyued in prest, and all stuffe and necessities bowghte and prouided, to be broughte into the store howse and there kepte, The quantitie, tale, price, and valewe furste

¹ This and the following paragraphs are attached by a bracket to the account of the 'Journall' in col. 3.

vewed, rated, and entered and the same to be defrayed, vsed, and ymployed in suche sourte as the disbursementes and ymployementes maye perticulerlye appeare in the saide / [Jurnall].

The worckes ended the chardgeys thereof shalbe Collected and compared with the prestes, and the dewes owinge to the creaditoures debentered, Certified, and sued owte, and the monnye browghte into the office, and there before all the officers openlie paide to the creaditoures, and the Bookes solved, as the Discharge thereof maye appeare in the saide / [Jurnall].

Item aswell all emptions and stuffe of newe provided and remaininge of stoore, as the Vestures oute of the wardroppe of the revellers to be altered, shall before the breakinge and cuttinge oute therof be by the saide officers furste aymed and caste to be cutte to the moste advauntaige, And the remaine of bothe the Garmentes and newe stuffe not fallinge oute to the yeomans fees returned into the stoore howse there to be aunswerede and appeare in A / ¹

[Col. 3.] Booke Called the ymploye booke, wherein shalbe perticulerlye entered and expressed, aswell the chardge of the furste remaine at the laste vewe leafty in the Inventorie, and the venit of all *prouisions* and inductionns into the Office, sithe then, as the seuerall ymploymentes, waiste, and remaines of the same, Soe neare as ytt maye be gatheredde.

[Col. 2.] Soe sone as anye Maske or other devise ys finished, the patterne and platte of the same shalbe drawne and putt in collers by A painter, as well for witnes of the worcke, as for presidente to the office, to induse, devise and shewe difference of that is to come from that ys paste.

And the Garmentes, with all theire peiceis, weapons, and other vtensillz and Proprieties soe finished (after they have served) Deliuered into the warderobbe, there to be sawfe kepte and remaine in the Chardge of the yoman, vntill the same shalbe brokenne, altered to serve againe in newe fourme, or worne paste seruice; then to be Deliuered into the Stoore howse to be there kepte and aunswered or Discharged in the order accustomed and as maye appeare in the saide / [ymploye booke].

The worckes ended, the Offycers sittinge togeder shall compare all the ymploymentes of those woorkes *with* the invencion or furste remaines and the newe empcione and *prouisions* made sithe

¹ This and the following paragraphs are attached by a bracket to the account of the 'ymploye booke' in col. 3.

then, for dischargd of the laste inventorie, knowledge of the waiste, and iuste fallinge oute of the laste remaines to be lefte in chardge of inventorie in the saide / [ymploye booke].

And for the more sawfe kepinge, well vsaige, and trewe aunsweringe of all the stuffe and stoare of thoffice, The same to be kepte in twoe soundrye places (viz) all empcionns and prouisions of newe stuffe, And Garmentes, peeceis, vtensilles, and proprieties brokenn and altered from their fourme in the Stoor howse, And all Garmentes and vestures with their peecees and furnytur remayninge whoale in the warderobbe, there to be answerable and accomptable as is aforesaide.

And for the better sarvice and more spedye proceedinge in all the Premisses a commyssionne to be graunted from the Queenes Maiestie for prouisione of necessaries and takeinge vpp of woockemen, and the same not to be vsed but in cases of necessitie and where it cannot be hadd at soe reasonable rate as bothe the parties maye gaine and common subiectes are served.

[Col. 4.]¹ All which perticler bookes, bothe of chardge, ymploymentes, and remaines, shall once in the yeare, that ys to saie betwene Mighelmas and Hollontide, be collected into One volume or maine booke, called the Lidgearde of the office, be perused by the Master and all thofficers sittinge together, caste vpp, soumed, and their names subscribed to the ende of euerye worcke to remaine of recorde in the office, And alsoe a duplicath of the same engrossed, perused, sommed, and signed, as is aforesaide, and deliuered over.

Thys Platte of orders and state of the office is the firste and surest meane whereby the Queene's Maiestie may be most truly, aptelie, and honorablie serued, if it may be throwghlie obserued in all poyntes.

The seconde is that the Maister of the office be appointed and chosen, suche as be neither gallant, prodigall, nedye, nor gredye, for if any of theis, suerlie he will never be fullie lyhable to this order, but make waiste, sucke the Quene, or pynche the poore, or all thre; And that he also be of suche learning, wytt, and experience, as hable of hymselfe to make and devise suche shewes and devises, as may best fitt and furnisse the tyme, place, and state with leaste burden, and to frame all other speciall

¹ This paragraph is attached by a bracket to the accounts of the 'Journall' and the 'ymploye booke' in col. 3.

appointementes to the best shewe with leaste chardge and most spede.

The Thirde meane, viz. to eaze or spare the greatest Disburcementes of money, *which* riseth by emption and provision of the costliest and most sumptiest parte of theis affaires, is that oute of the privye or speciall wardrops of her Maiesties seuerall houses, or the tower, or greate wardrop, of suche store as hath layen longe and decaied or now growen vnmete for the first purpose or to *serve* the present vse any longer, may be deliuered over to be ymployed to the beste and ferthest stretch of this turne (as was in Sir Thomas Cardens tyme, as well oute of the hole pece as in hanginges and garmentes and other sorte) but not any other thing *which* is not alredy there of olde store to come from thence by any new provision, but by the officers to be chosen most metest for fitnes to *serve* and eaze of chardge, and taken and bought at the first hande for redy money.

The fourth is that redy money may be vpon reasonable request deliuered for the chepest prouision of necessaries and other Emptions, in suche tyme as they may be best had by the officers appointment of them *which* can best skill of it; And preparacion to be made of that is known mete to be put in a redynes to be before hande better done by them *which* are most meete and for more reasonable hier in hope of present payment, then can be had or done vpon the soden (*which* asketh doble waiges for watche and hynderaunce of their aduantaige in tyme of worke and gayne, and greater price for seking when and where is scante and no choise nor certeyntie of payment but feare of longe forbering their money) *which* shall never be well done by any straunger to the office, nor *with* oute redy money.

And this advice taking place, I dare take vpon me that her Maiestie shall haue more done and better by a thirde parte for lesse chardge by a thirde parte then hetherto I have knowen, and will yelde a iust and trewe accompte both of stuffe and money, If it please her highnes to bestowe the Mastership of the office vpon me (as I trust myne experience by acquayntaunce *with* those thaffaires and contynuall dealing therein by the space of xxvij or xxviii yeres deserveth, being also the auncient of the office by at the leaste xxxiiij of those yeres; otherwise I wolde be lothe hereafter to deale nor medle *with* it nor in it further then apperteyneth to the clerke, whose allowaunce is so small as I gyve it holy to be discharged of

the toyle and attendaunce). I haue hetherto *withoute* recompence to my greate chardge and hynderaunce borne the burden of the *Master*, and taken the care and paynes of that, others haue had the thankes and rewarde for, *which* I trust her *Maiestie* will not put me to *withoute* the fee, alowaunce, and estimacion longing to it, nor if her highnes vouchesafe not to bestowe it vpon me to let me passe *withoute* recompence for that is done and paste.

If the Fee and allowaunce be thought to muche, then let what her *Maiestie* and Honorable counsaile shall thinke mete for any man that shall supplie that burden and place to haue towards his chardges be appointed of certeyntie, and I will take that, and serve for as litle as any man that meanes to Deale truly, so I be not to create a loser by it.

The Costes of any thing to be done oute of this office can not be aymed at any neare estymate *withoute* fore knowledge what is required and loked for, as howe many maskes and whether riche or slite, what plaies, banketing houses, and other shewes of pastyme, and those whether statelie or meane, may suffice to be ordinarelie appointed for her highnes recreacion, *which* growing to some certeyn pitche the chardge may be roved at. Or her highnes resolving vpon some certeyn yerelie some of money, *which* she will not passe, the *Master* and officers may frame to stretche the same to her highnes most honour and liking, and yet finding her contentacion served with lesse then that is appointed deale accordinglie and be aunswerable the remayn vpon accompte.

The third *Memorandum* is far more brief and less comprehensive than either of the other two.¹

Memorandum C.

A note of sarten thinges which are very nedefull to be Redressed in the offys of the Revelles.

1. Fyrste the Romes or Loginges, where the garments and other thinges, as hedpeces and suche lyke, dothe lye, Is in suche decaye for want of reparacions, that it hath by that meanes perished A very greate longe wall, which parte thereof is falne doune and hath broke undoune A greate presse, which stooode all Alongest the same, by *which* meanes I ame fayne to laye the garmentes vpon the grounde, to the greate hurt of the same, so as if youre honoure ded se the same it wolde petye you to see suche stoffe so yll bestowed.

¹ *Lansd. MS.* 83, f. 149.

2. Next there is no conveyent Romes for the Artifycers to wourke in, but that Taylours, Paynters, Proparatie makers, and Carpenders are all fayne to wourke in one rome, which is A very greate hinderaunce one to Another, *which* thinge nedes not for theye are slacke anowe of them selves.

3. More, there ys two whole yeares charges be hinde vn payde, to the greate hinderaunce of the poore Artyfycers that wourke there. In so mvche that there be A greate parte of them that haue byn dryven to sell there billes or debentars for halfe that is dewe vnto them by the same.

4. More, yt hath broughte the offyce in suche dyscredet with those that dyd delyver wares into the offyce, that theye will delyuer yt in for A thirde parte more then it is woorth, or ellce we can get no credet of them for the same, which thinge is A very greate hinderaunce to the Queenes maiestie and A greate discredet to those that be offecers in that place, which thinge for my parte I Ame very sory to see'.

This is endorsed,

'For the Reuels. Matters to be redressed there.'

Memorandum A bears its date upon the face of it, in the draft *Articles and Ordinances*, drawn with a view to their being executed on some uncertain day in 15 Elizabeth, that is to say, between Nov. 17, 1572, and Nov. 16, 1573. It is much the most valuable of the three memoranda, as it gives a very capable summary of the whole situation, and its proposals are informed by a good deal of sound administrative sense. I think that the writer, who only knows of Cawarden's Mastership by report, is Edward Buggin. The attitude seems to me rather that of one who has personal knowledge of the working of the Revels and of the difficulties of its officers, than that of an investigator from outside, such as John Fortescue, from whom Burghley might naturally enough have asked for a report. *Memorandum B* is quite clearly by Blagrove, for the writer speaks of his allowance as Clerk. There are certain correspondences between recommendations made in *A* and in *B*, which suggest that the writers either conferred together, or made common use of the older 'platteforme of certen ordynaunces' specifically mentioned in *A*. *Memo-*

randum C is equally clearly by the Yeoman, who was the officer in personal custody of the Revels garments. It is only by conjecture that I assign the two latter documents, as well as *A*, to 1573. But it would be an obvious course for Burghley, if he made an inquiry into the organization of the Office, to ask each of those who held places in it by patent to give at the same time an independent expression of his views. Moreover, the allusions in *C* to the want of presses and to the two years' arrear of payment correspond well enough to the facts disclosed by the Account of 1572-3 and the complaints by creditors in the spring of 1574. If I am right as to the date, the writer will be John Arnold. Blaggrave's memorandum may also be not unreasonably dated in 1573, if it is assumed that the twenty-seven or twenty-eight years' acquaintance with the affairs of the Office which he claims includes his years of unestablished service both before and after his informal appointment to perform Philipps's duties about 1550. It must be later than Holt's death in 1571, as of course Blaggrave could never have claimed twenty-four years' seniority over Holt, who became Yeoman in 1546 or 1547; and it cannot be later than the end of 1574, as the claim of twenty-four years' seniority to Buggin implies that the two had only been colleagues for four years at most, and we know that Buggin became Comptroller on December 30, 1570.

The documents are proposals for reform rather than statements of existing practice; but proposals for reform made by permanent officials are not generally very sweeping, and I think it may be taken that we get a pretty fair notion of the actual working of a Government department in the sixteenth century, not without certain hints of jealousies and disputes between the various officers as to their respective functions and privileges, which in those days as in these occasionally tended to interfere with the smooth working of the machine. The determination of these functions and privileges by regulation; the keeping of regular books, inventories, journals, and ledgers; the institution of a system of finance which would avoid the necessity of employing credit; the prohibition

of the hiring-out of Revels stuff; these are amongst the improvements in organization which suggested themselves to practical men. Blagrave asks that the hands of the officers might be strengthened by a commission; that is, apparently, a warrant entitling them to enforce service on behalf of the Crown, such as the Master of the Children of the Chapel had to 'take up' singing-boys, and other departments of the Household, including probably the Tents, had for the purveyance of provisions and cartage. Probably the Revels had already enjoyed this authority upon special occasions. The *Account* for the banqueting house of 1572 includes an item for 'flowers of all sortes taken up by comysion and gathered in the feeldes'.¹

At the bottom of the documents there is a feeling that the weak point in the organization is the Mastership. The Master had to be a courtier, dancing attendance on the Queen and the Lord Chamberlain, and was likely to have the qualities and failings of a courtier; and then he came to the office, and gave instructions to people who knew their own business much better than he did. Buggin's remedy is the appointment, as in the days before Cawarden, of a Serjeant of the Revels, a sort of Gibson, of inferior social status to the Master, to whom the detailed oversight of the Office might be delegated. Blagrave's remedy is his own nomination to be Master. Buggin's plan was, one fancies, extremely sensible, but it would have meant another place and another fee, and it was not adopted. Blagrave's ambitions were not wholly gratified. He was allowed to act as Master for some years, but he never received a patent, and after Benger's death he had the mortification of seeing the post given to another, while he was left to content himself with his much despised Clerkship. His regency lasted from November, 1573, until Christmas, 1579, and his signature stands alone or heads those of the other officers upon the Accounts relating to that period, with the exception of the last, on which the name of the incoming Master appears.²

¹ Cunningham, 27.

² A *Declared Account* for Feb. 14, 1578, to Feb. 14, 1579, is in Blagrave's name.

These Accounts are for Nov. 1, 1573, to Feb. 27, 1574; for March 1, 1574, to Feb. 27, 1575; for March 11, 1576, to Feb. 21, 1577; and for Feb. 14, 1578, to Oct. 31, 1579. The Accounts for 1575-6 and 1577-8 are not preserved. Blagrave's appointment seems to have been an 'Acting' one, renewed from year to year. It is stated in the Account for 1573-4 to have been made by 'her Majestie's pleasure signefied by the right honorable L. Chamberlaine', and in that for 1574-5 to appear from 'sundry letters from the Lorde Chamberlayne'. On Dec. 13, 1578, however, he received an appointment by privy seal.¹ It must be borne in mind that the Revels was only a department in that great branch of the tripartite Household, the Chamber, over which the Lord Chamberlain presided. All Blagrave's activities were subject to control by his superior officer. He and his subordinates were constantly going by boat or horse to Richmond, or wherever the Court might be, to take instructions from the Lord Chamberlain, to submit patterns of masks and alterations of plays, and to obtain payment of expenses.² Blagrave himself had a house at Bedwyn in Wiltshire, and couriers were sometimes sent after him when his presence in London was urgently needed.³ Upon his entrance into office the officers were called together 'for colleccion and showe of eche thinge prepared for her Maiesties regall disporte and recreacion as also the store wherewith to ffurnish, garnish and sett forth the same; wherof, as also of the whole state of the office the L. Chamberlayne according to his honours appointment was throughly advertised'.⁴ The store was also carefully perused and the inventories checked upon the death of John Arnold the Yeoman, and the appointment on Jan. 19, 1574, of Walter Fish in his room.⁵ The Accounts continue to include allowances for the diet of the Clerk as

¹ Collier, i. 229, from an unreferenced 'Brief Declaration' of Revels expenses for 1578-9 in the British Museum. Some notes of Revels expenses, dated June 4, 1575, are in *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ciii. 54.

² Cunningham, 68, 72, 87, 98, 111, 112, 120, 133, 135, 136, 139, 140.

³ Cunningham, 50, 111, 121, 141.

⁴ Cunningham, 49.

⁵ Cunningham, 49; Collier, i. 227; *Variorum*, iii. 499.

well as that of the Master. I have no doubt that Blagrave was quite capable of drawing them both ; but it is also likely enough that some unestablished person, of the class referred to in the *Memoranda* as 'servants' of the regular officers, undertook the duties of 'Acting' Clerk. If so, this was most probably Bryan Dodmer, who was very useful on financial business during 1573-4 and 1574-5. After this year he disappears from the Accounts and his place is apparently taken by John Drawater. William Bowll, the ex-Deputy-Yeoman and silkweaver, and Thomas Giles, the haberdasher, in spite of their complaints against the Office, continue to supply it with goods.¹

The general character of the Accounts, both under Fortescue and Sackford, and under Blagrave, is much the same as that of the one, already analysed, for 1571-2. Periods of activity, mainly at Christmas and Shrovetide, still alternate with periods of quiescence, stock-taking, and 'airing'. Occasionally the Office has to bestir itself to accompany a progress.² Some unusually detailed entries in 1576-7 give interesting information as to the rates of wages ordinarily paid to workmen. The head tailor got 20*d.* for each day or night, and other tailors 12*d.* Carpenters got 16*d.*; the Porter and other attendants 12*d.* Painters, haberdashers, property-makers, joiners, carvers, and wire-drawers were paid 'at sundrie rates'. In a later year, 1579-80, the first and second painter got 2*s.* and 20*d.* respectively, and the rest 18*d.* The first wire-drawer got 20*d.*, and the rest 16*d.*³ The payments for night-work really represent double wages for overtime, since we learn from Buggin and Blagrave that the length of a night was reckoned at about half that of a day. The workmen who waited on the mask before Montmorency in 1572 got extra rewards, because they 'had no tyme to eat theyer supper'; and while the banqueting house was building Bryan Dodmer had to buy bread and cheese 'to serve the plasterers that wrowght all the night

Cunningham, 53, 61, 68, 80, 98, 113, 122, 129, 140.

Cunningham, 43, 77.

³ Cunningham, 102, 156.

and mighte not be spared nor trusted to go abroad to supper'.¹ An important function of the Office consisted in 'calling together of sundry players and perusing, fitting and reformyng theier matters otherwise not convenient to be shoven before her Maiestie'.² Dodmer paid 40s. in 1574-5 for 'paynes in perusing and reformyng of playes sundry tymes as neede required for her Maiestie's lyking', and it is a pity that the name of the payee is left blank in the Account.³ When the plays had been chosen and knocked into shape, they had to be rehearsed. Now and then they were taken before the Lord Chamberlain for this purpose; but as a rule the rehearsals went on in the presence of the officers at St. John's. Here was a hall or 'greate chambere where the workes were doone and the playes rezited'. There were also a storehouse and the mansions of the officers. The Clerk had an office with a nether room next the yard.⁴ Arnold complains of the inconvenience of having only one room for every kind of artificer to work in. One Nicholas Newdigate was extremely useful in hearing and training the children who frequently performed.⁵ Naturally these gave a good deal of trouble. At Shrovetide, 1574, nine of them were employed for a mask at Hampton Court. They had diet and lodging at St. John's, 'whiles thay learned theier partes and jestures meete for the mask.' They were taken from Paul's Wharf to Hampton Court in a barge with six oars and two 'tylt whirreys'. They arrived on Monday, but the queen would not see them until the Tuesday, and they were lodged for the two nights at Mother Sparo's at Kingston. An Italian woman and her daughter were employed to dress their heads. When they got back to London on Ash Wednesday, 'sum of them being sick and colde and hungry,' fire and victuals were provided at Blackfriars. Each child received a reward of 1s.⁶ Trouble was caused also sometimes by the behaviour of the courtiers who took part in festivities. Six horns garnished with silver were provided at a cost of 18s., for a mask of hunters on January 1, 1574,

¹ Cunningham, 25, 28.

² Cunningham, 92.

³ Cunningham, 61, 74, 113.

⁴ Cunningham, 49.

⁵ Cunningham, xlviii, 39, 46, 121.

⁶ Cunningham, 73.

and there is a note in the Account that these horns 'the maskers detayned and yet dooth kepe them against the will of all the officers'. This sort of difficulty was traditional. It was already perplexing the worthy Gibson more than half a century before.¹ Finance was also a cause of trouble. On his appointment in 1573 Blagrave succeeded in obtaining a 'prest' of £200 to begin the year upon. In 1574 he did the same, but not until Dodmer had applied in vain to the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Treasurer, and Mr. Secretary Walsingham, and was finally 'after long attendaunce (and that none of the aforementioned coulde get the Queenes Maiestie to resolve therin) dryven to trouble her Maiestie himselfe and by special petition obtayned as well the grawnt for cc^{li} in prest as the dettes to be paid'. At the end of each year there were formalities and delays to be gone through before the bills could be paid. The accounts had to be made up, to be passed by the auditors, and to be declared before the Lord Treasurer and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Then a royal warrant had to be obtained for a privy seal, then the privy seal itself, and finally actual payment at the Exchequer. All these processes necessitated constant fees and gratuities. In 1578 Blagrave and John Drawater had to pay as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
To Mr. Nichasius for the prive seal and the signet for the Revells money	0	10	0
To Mr. Peter for making the orders for my L. Treasurer should sign for the payment of the Revells money	0	10	0
To Mr. Skynner my L. Treasurer's clerk for newe making the orders sent by Mr. Peter and his furtheraunce therin	0	10	0
To Mr. Stonely for payment of £344 9s. 0d.	0	10	0
To his men for their paine for payment	0	2	6
To the Porter of the exchequor at the receipte of the money	0	0	12

In 1579 the estimated charges for audit and payment

¹ Cunningham, 59; cf. p. 5, n. 5.

amounted to £8. For his considerable financial services in 1574-5 Bryan Dodmer demanded £13 6s. 8d., but this was ruthlessly cut down by the officers to £6 13s. 4d. They in their turn found the auditor disallowing a small payment because it had been entered in the books after the sum had been cast, and was not properly certified. Dodmer had advanced the money, but he could not be repaid until the following year.¹

Sir Thomas Benger, who was still the nominal Master of the Revels, died, leaving 'many debts' and 'very few goods', in March, 1577.² Collier quotes, from a Lansdowne MS. to which he had lost the reference, a letter of April 8, 1577, from Leicester to Burghley, reminding him that a certain suit of Sir Jerome Bowes and others 'touching playes' had been referred to them, together with the Lord Chamberlain, by the queen for consideration. They had 'myslyked of the permission they sutors desierd', but a report still had to be made.³ There is nothing to show the nature of this 'suit', but it is not unnatural to conjecture that it arose in some way out of the vacancy in the Mastership. No more, however, is heard of Sir Jerome Bowes in this connection. There was some delay in filling up Benger's place, and in the end Thomas Blagrove was not so fortunate as to obtain the reward which he doubtless anticipated for his long services. He continued to act as Master for more than a year after Benger's death, and then met with the rebuff of finding himself passed over in favour of an outsider, and reduced to his former position of Clerk, with its subordinate duties and its miserable allowances for the 'ordynary grene cloth, paper, incke, counters, desks, standishes', and so forth. The new Master was Edmond Tilney, who had dedicated to Elizabeth, in 1568, a dialogue on matrimony under the title of *The Flower of Friendship*. Tilney was a connection of Lord Howard of Effingham, to whose influence at Court

¹ Cunningham, 48, 78, 98, 99, 122, 140, 150.

² Chalmers, 482, giving the date of probate of his will in the P. C. C. as March 27, 1577.

³ Collier, i. 224.

he probably owed his appointment. His patent is dated on July 24, 1579, but the fee was to run from the previous Christmas, and he may therefore have formally assumed his duties at that period. His signature is attached with those of Blagrove and the other officers to the Account for the whole of the period from February 14, 1578, to October 31, 1579, but the details do not afford any evidence that he took a personal share in the work of the Office.¹ Tilney was the last Master of Elizabeth's reign, and continued to hold office until his death on August 20, 1610. But after the accession of James the First he seems to have had a deputy in his nephew, Sir George Buck, to whom the reversion of the Mastership had been given by Elizabeth in 1597, and confirmed by a patent of James on June 23, 1603.²

Buck's nomination led to heart-burnings. John Lyly, the dramatist, considered that he had claims upon the succession to the Mastership, and pretty clearly regarded the bestowal of it upon another as a distinct breach of faith on the part of the queen. Several letters of his referring to the matter are preserved at Hatfield and elsewhere. The earliest and most important of these is dated December 22, 1597, and addressed to Sir Robert Cecil. Herein Lyly says:—

'I haue not byn importunat, that thes 12 yeres *with* vnwearied pacienc have entertayned the *proroguing* of her maiesties promises, *which* if in the 13 may conclud *with* the Parlement, I will think the greves of tymes past but pastymes . . . Offices in Reuersion are forestalld, in possession ingrost, & that of *the* Reuells countenanced upon Buck, wherein the Justic of an oyre shewes his affection to *the* keper & partialty to *the* sheppard, a french fauor.'

¹ Malone, *Variorum*, iii. 57; Chalmers, 482; Collier, i. 230, 235; Cunningham, 124, 141, 149, 152; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 1.

² Malone, *Variorum*, iii. 57; Chalmers, 489; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 14; *S. P. Dom. Jac. I.* ii. 12. Buck wrote commendatory verses to Thomas Watson's ΕΚΑΤΟΜΠΛΑΘΙΑ (c. 1582). He was in the Cadiz expedition in 1596, and in 1601 was sent on a mission to Middelburg. On July 2, 1603, a Gentleman of the Chapel Royal was sworn 'in Mr. Bucke's roome' (Rimbault, *Old Cheque-Book of the Chapel Royal*, 8). Was this George Buck? He was knighted on July 23, 1603 (Nichols, *Progresses of James I.*, i. 215).

To the queen herself Lyly wrote :—

'I was entertayned your Maiesties servant by your owne gracious ffavour, stranghtened with condicions, that I should ayme all my courses att the Revells (I dare not saye, with a promise, butt a hopefull Item, of the Reversion); ffor the *which*, theis tenn yeares, I haue attended, with an vnwearyed patience, and I knowe not whatt crabb tooke mee ffor an oyster, that, in the midst of the svnnshine of your gracious aspect, hath thrust a stone betwene the shelles, to eate mee alyve, that onely lyve on dead hopes.

The date of this petition is probably 1598, since a second letter to Cecil, dated September 9, 1598, specifies the same period of 'ten yeres', during which Lyly had had 'nothing applied to my wantes but promises'. On February 27, 1601, a third letter to Cecil, asking for his aid in obtaining a grant out of property forfeited after the Essex conspiracy, suggests that 'after 13 yeres servic and suit for *the* Revells, I may turne all my forces & frends to feed on *the* Rebells'. This was written in connection with a second petition to the queen, in which occurs the following passage :—

'It pleased your Maiestie to except against Tentres and Toyles. I wishe, that ffor Tentres I might putt in Tenementes : soe should I bee eased with some Toyles ; some landes, some goodes, ffynes, or fforffeytures, that should ffall, by the just ffall of these most ffalce Traytours, that seeinge nothings will come by the Revells, I may praye vppon Rebells. Thirteen yeares, your Highnes Servant, butt yett nothings . . .'¹

The general drift of these documents is fairly clear. It would seem that Lyly received promises of advancement from Elizabeth about 1585, probably as a result of the success of his plays ; that in 1588 he was 'entertained the queen's servant', with a more or less authorized expectation of place

¹ The letters are printed in full in Bond, *Lyly*, i. 64, 68, 70, 378, 392, 395. A contemporary note by Sir Stephen Powle to a copy of the 1601 appeal says, 'He was a suter to be Mr. of the Reuelles and tentres and Toyles, but cauer crossed.'

in the Revels; that in 1597 his claims were set aside in favour of Buck; and that, after unavailing protests, he made the best of the situation and attempted to obtain what compensation he could for his disappointment. I find some confirmation of the view that about 1588 Lyly came to be regarded, possibly on account of the aid rendered by his pen to the bishops against Martin Marprelate, as having some right of succession to a place at Court, in an allusion of Gabriel Harvey, who in his *Advertisement for Papp-Hatchett*, dated November 5, 1589, but not published until it was included in his *Pierce's Supererogation* of 1593, says of Papp-Hatchett, who is almost certainly Lyly, 'He might as truly forge any lewd or villanous report of any one in England; and for his labour challenge to be preferred to the Clerkship of the whetstone'; and again, 'His knavish and foolish malice palpably bewrayeth itself in most odious actions; meet to garnish the foresayd famous office of the whetstone'.¹ The actual phrasing of Lyly's letters is, of course, characteristically obscure. It is possible that the 'keper' referred to in the first of them is the Lord Keeper, Sir Thomas Egerton, to whom, if Collier may be trusted, Buck sent, in 1605, a copy of a poem called ΔΑΦΝΙΣ ΠΟΛΥΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΣ, with some lines referring to an obligation of long standing towards his patron.² The allusion to 'Tentes and Toyles' may mean that, after giving up hope of the Mastership of the Revels, Lyly had turned his thoughts to the Mastership of the Tents and

¹ Grosart, *Works of Harvey*, ii. 211.

² Collier, i. 361. Buck's career in the Revels lies outside the scope of these *Notes*, but his learning was esteemed by Camden, and in Howes's edition of Stowe's *Chronicle* (1615) is a treatise by him, written in 1612, on *The Third University of England*. Chapter 47 of this is *Of the Art of Revels*, and is worth quoting, 'I might hereunto add for a corollary of this discourse the Art of Revels, which requireth knowledge in Grammar, Rhetoric, Logic, Philosophy, History, Music, Mathematics, and in other Arts (and all more than I understand I confess) and hath a settled place within this City. But because I have described it and discoursed thereof at large in a particular commentary, according to my talent, I will surcease to speak any more thereof: blazing only the Arms belonging to it, which are Gules, a cross argent, and in the first corner of the scutcheon, a Mercury's petasus argent, and a lion gules in chief or.' Unfortunately Buck's 'particular commentary' on his Art is not now known.

Toils, the actual holder of which, in 1601, Henry Sackford, had been appointed to the Tents as far back as 1559, and must therefore have been an oldish man; or possibly that, if he could not have the higher place, Lyly would have been content with the reversion of one of the two subordinate appointments, the Clerkship or the Clerk Comptrollership, which the Revels shared with the Tents. When Lyly says that he was 'entertained the Queen's servant', he perhaps only refers to his selection in 1588 as a member of Parliament, doubtless in the court interest, for Hindon.

Lyly's recent editor for the Clarendon Press, Mr. Warwick Bond, says, 'The Queen's complaint about Tents and Toyles may have originated in some real or supposed participation by Lyly in the abuse of lending out the Revels costumes on hire to various companies.'¹ I do not think that 'except against' means 'complain about'; but in any case the suggestion quoted implies not merely a confusion as to the respective functions of the Tents and the Revels, but also a demonstrably false theory as to Lyly's relation to the latter office. Mr. Bond believes that Lyly not only expected the Mastership, but was actually from 1585 onwards in enjoyment of the Clerk Comptrollership.² This hypothesis runs through the whole of Mr. Bond's elaborate biography of Lyly, and vitiates many of its conclusions; since it so happens that the tenure, not only of the Clerk Comptrollership, but of every post on the Revels establishment, is clearly traceable to the end of Elizabeth's reign, and that there is no room for Lyly. At the time of Tilney's appointment in 1579, Edward Buggin was Clerk Comptroller, Thomas Blgrave, Clerk, and Walter Fish, Yeoman. On October 15, 1584, William Honing was appointed Clerk Comptroller in succession to Buggin. On June 5, 1596, Honing having resigned, Edmund Pakenham was appointed as from September 29, 1595; and he was still in office in 1603.³ The close of the reign witnessed the termination by death of Blgrave's long tenure of the Clerk-

¹ Bond, i. 71.

² Bond, i. 41.

³ Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 5, prints a copy of Pakenham's patent, which recites that of Honing.

ship. William Honing, the former Clerk Comptroller, returned to the Office as Clerk in his room, under a patent dated on May 30, 1603, and made retrospective to the previous March 25.¹ The last Yeoman of the reign was Edward Kirkham. His patent, in succession to Walter Fish, then dead, is dated on April 28, 1586. But it is specified as being for 'service done in the Revels', and it is clear from the Account for 1582-3 that he was already employed during that year, probably as deputy to Fish, in whose place he signs the book. Fish signed that for 1580-1, and that for 1581-2 is missing.² In 1601 Kirkham became a member of a syndicate formed to finance the performances of the Chapel boys in the Blackfriars' theatre. This arrangement led to various lawsuits, some of the records of which have been preserved. Kirkham seems to have been litigious, but this hardly justifies Mr. Fleay in telling us that Jonson called him 'a base fellow'. It was, according to Drummond of Hawthornden, Gervase Markham whom Jonson so disparaged.³

Only a few detailed Accounts belonging to Tilney's Mastership are in existence. These are made up regularly from each November 1 to the following October 31.⁴ They do not disclose any noteworthy change in the previous routine of the Office. On August 8, 1580, Thomas Sackford, a Master of the Requests, and Sir Owen Hopton, the Lieutenant of the Tower, were instructed by the Council to take a view of the Revels stuff upon the appointment of the new Master, and to deliver inventories of the same to Tilney. Accordingly, a charge of 40s. 'for the ingrossinge of three paire of indented inventories' appears in the Account.⁵ In 1582-3 considerable

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz. Addl.* ix. 58.

² Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 3; Cunningham, 1, 175, 182, 187.

³ Fleay, *History of the Stage*, 210; Laing, *Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond*, 11.

⁴ Cunningham prints Accounts for 1579-80, 1580-1, 1582-3, 1584-5, 1587-8. He quotes one for 1583-4, but does not print it. Collier, i. 235, 262, quotes summaries of the Accounts for 1581-2 and 1587-9 from *Lansdowne MSS.* 31 and 59. For the latter part of the reign no detailed Accounts seem to exist.

⁵ Cunningham, 165.

repairs were required at the Revels office, owing to the fact that a chamber which formed part of Blagrave's lodging had fallen down. A small temporary office and a chamber for the Master seem henceforward to have been provided at Court during the attendance of the Master, and warmed with billets and coals at the expense of the Revels. Another entry for 1582-3 marks an epoch of some importance in the history of the Elizabethan stage. On March 10, 1583, Tilney was summoned to Court by a letter from Mr. Secretary [Walsingham] 'to choose out a companie of players for her Maiestie'. Horse hire and charges on the journey cost him 20s.¹ Outside the Accounts there is one document of considerable interest belonging to the early years of Tilney's rule. This is a patent, dated December 24, 1581, and giving to the Master of the Revels such a 'commission' or grant of exceptional powers over the subjects of the realm, as had been stated in the *Memoranda* of 1573 to be eminently desirable in the interests of the office.² The Master is authorized to take and retain such workmen 'at competent wages', and take such 'stuff, ware, or merchandise', 'at price reasonable', together with such 'carriages', by land and by water, as he may consider to be necessary or expedient for the service of the Revels. He or his deputy may commit recalcitrant persons to ward. He may protect his workmen from arrest, and they are not to be liable to forfeit if their service in the Revels obliges them to break outside contracts for piece-work. To a further power conferred upon the Master by this patent I shall return shortly.

Tilney's accession to office coincided with the beginning of a period of heightened splendour in Court entertainments. This a memoir-writer of Elizabeth's reign traces to the coming of the Duc d'Alençon in 1579. Probably he had in mind the festivities for the embassy about a marriage with Alençon in 1581.³ A magnificent banqueting house was built

¹ Cunningham, 181, 184, 186.

² Collier, i. 247, from *Patent Roll*; but he confuses it with the establishment of the Queen's men in 1583.

³ Bohun, *Character of Queen Elizabeth*, 345.

at Whitehall, and Sidney, Fulke Greville, and others, equipped as the Foster Children of Desire, besieged the Fortress of Perfect Beauty in the tilt-yard. One might have expected to find a considerably larger expenditure accounted for by the officers of the Revels. But this is not the case. The cost of the Office, which in 1571-3 had grown to about £1500 a year, rapidly fell again. In 1573-4 it was about £670; in 1574-5 about £580; and thereafter it generally stood at not more than from £250 to £350. It is probable, however, that these figures do not point to any real reduction of expenditure, but only mean that, after the experience of John Fortescue, the Master of the Wardrobe, as Acting Master of the Revels in 1572-3, it was found economical to supply the needs of the Office, to a greater extent than in the past, through the organization of the Wardrobe and the Office of Works, instead of by the direct purchase of goods or employment of labour in the open market. Stowe records, for example, that the banqueting house of 1581 cost £1744 19s., but no part of this appears in the Revels Account, although the banqueting house of 1572 had cost the Office £224 6s. 10d.¹ Probably it was all met by the Office of Works. About 1596 a further reform in the interests of economy was attempted, by the substitution of a fixed annual payment for the 'wages' or 'diet' hitherto allowed to the officers for each day or night of actual attendance at 'airings' or at the rehearsals or performances of plays. The last payment under the old system was made on May 30, 1594, by a warrant to Tilney for a sum of £311 2s. 2d. in respect of works and wares and officers' wages for 1589-92, together with an imprest of £100 for 1592-3.² The next warrant was made out on January 25, 1597, and directed the payment of £200 for 1593-6, together

¹ Stowe, *Annals*, 689; Cunningham, 30. This view is confirmed by the evidence for a later period (†1617) of an Abstract of Revenue printed with *Truth Brought to Light and Discovered by Time* (1651), which gives amongst Ordinary Issues 'Revells 300 pounds', and amongst Extraordinary Disbursements since 1603, 'The charge of diverse Masks besides the provisions had out of the Wardrobe and materials and workmen from the Office of the Works, £7,500.'

² *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* ccxlviii. p. 512.

with an annual payment of £66 6s. 8d., 'as composition for defraying the charges of the office for plays only, according to a rate of a late reformation and composition for ordinary charges there.'¹ It is obvious that charges for masks, banqueting houses and progresses, the number and splendour of which necessarily varied according to the royal fancy, could hardly be included in such an arrangement, and these, whether incurred through the Revels Office, or through the Office of Works and the Wardrobe, must have been classed henceforward as 'extraordinary' charges. The amount of £311 2s. 2d. paid for the three years 1589-92 is, indeed, so small as to suggest that the distinction between 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' charges may have already existed during the period, and may thus have preceded the reduction of 'ordinary' charges to a 'composition'. The warrant of January 25, 1597, never became operative. There is an entry of it in the Docquet Book of the Signet Office, and in the margin are the notes 'Remanet: neuer passed the Seales' and 'Staid by the Lord Threasorer: vacat'. Fortunately we are able to trace the causes which led to this interposition by Burghley. It will perhaps be remembered that Edward Buggin, in his *Memorandum* of 1573, had considered a possible reform of the administration of the Revels Office on lines very similar to those now adopted, and had decided that it was impracticable.² Doubtless the same view was held by the officers of 1597, and after the manner of permanent officials they took steps to ensure that it should be impracticable. Disputes arose between the Master and the inferior officers as to the distribution of the sum allowed for ordinary charges, and, pending a settlement of these, all payments out of the Office were suspended. The result was a memorial by the creditors of the Office made, like that of 1574, to the Lord Treasurer. This, with several official minutes endorsed upon it, is preserved amongst Burghley's papers.³

¹ *S. P. Dom. Eliz.* cclxii. p. 351. The calendar does not, however, note the *marginalia* to the docquet referred to below.

² Cf. p. 31.

³ *Lansdowne MS.* 83, f. 170.

To the right honnorable *the* Lord highe *Treasurer* of Englande.

In most humble wise beseecheth Your good *Lordshipp* your poore Oratours, Peeter Wrighte wyer Drawer, James Clarke Chandler, Joseph Smith painter, Richard Gotley Carpenter, Jhon Davys Taylour, Richard Page Collyer, Thomas Jhones woodbroker, and Jhon Griffeth Porter of St. Jhons gate, Creditors and *Servitors* of her *Maiestes* office of *the* Reuelles, *that* wheras wee be now V yeares behinde vnpayed for warres Deliuered and service Done with In *that* office, to our greate hinderance these deare yeares passed, deteyned as wee heare only throughe *the* Discention amoungest *the* officers, beinge longe sence signed by her *Maieste*; and for *that the* Master of *the* office dothe still aunswere us that *the* faulte Is not in him, beinge reddie to performe vnto *the* other officers as he saithe all such allowances, as either by your *Lordshipp*s formare orders Is Dew vnto *them* or *that* In righte they can anie other waies Challenge; but because wee can gett no other aunswere from *the* Master, and for *that* wee see no Likelyhoode of any agreement betweene *them*, *the* Master relyeing wholly as he saith vppon your *Lordshipp*s foresaide orders sett Downe vnto him, *the* other officers vtterly reiectinge *the* same, wee therefore most humbly beseech your *Lordshippe*, in Tender Regard of our poore estattes and of *the* longe forbearinge of our Monney, *that* It will please your *Lordshippe* to Commaunde some order for *the* Releiuinge of vs, and wee shall be allwaies bounde to praie for your good *Lordshipp*.

The memorial is endorsed, 'The Peticion of *the* Creditors and Seruitors of *the* Reuells.' It was in the first instance referred to Tilney for his observations, and he writes:—

All *that* I can saye Is, *that ther* Is a Composition layd vppon me by Quens *maieste* and signed by her self, rated verbatimly by certayn orders sett down by my *Lord* Treasurer vnder his *Lordshipp*s Hand, whervnto I haue appealed, because *the* other officers will nott be satisficed *with* ayni reason, wherto I am now teyd & nott vnto there friuillus demandes. Wherefore lett *them* sett down In writtinge *the* speciall Causes why they shuld reiect *the* forsayd orders and *the* Composition groned theron, Then am I to reply vnto *the* same as I can, for tell then *thes* petitioners can nott be satisfied.

Ed. Tyllney.

The document was then referred to Burghley, with the following summary of its contents :—

5 November 1597.

They shewe *that* theie are vnpaid theise five yeares last past for wares deliuered and service done in *the* office of *the* Revells, throughe *the* dissencion amongst *the* officers to *their* greate hinderance theise deare yeares beeing poore men.

Vppon *theire* mocion to *the* master of *the* office, his answe is, *that the* faulte is not in him, but he is redy to satisfie *them* all such allowances as are dew vnto *them*, either by your Lordshippes former order, or in righte theie can challeng, vppon *which* order *the* master doth wholly relie but *the* other reiect *the* same.

for *that there* is no lickyhood of *theire* agreement, whereby *the* petecioners may be satisfied, Theie Humbly pray your Lordshippe to Command som order for *the* releving *theire* poore estates.

Burghley then gave this direction :—

One of the Awditours of the prest with one of the Barons of *the* Eschecqr to heare the officers of the Revels, and thes petitioners, and either to ende the questions betwene them, or to certefie theyre opinions.

W. Burghley.

The document is then further endorsed with the report of Burghley's referees :—

quinto Januarii 1597 [1597].

Pleaseth it your good Lordship to be advertized that, after longe travaile and paines taken betwene the Master of the Revells and the Officers thereof, It is agreed by our entreaty that, out of the xli by yeare allowed for Fees or wage for their attendaunces, the Master of the Revelles shall yearely allowe and paye the severall Somes of mony vnder written, viz.

To the Clarke Comptroller of that office	. viij ^{li}
To the Yeoman of the Revelles	. viij ^{li}
To the Groome of the Office	. xl ^s
To the Porter of St. Johns	. xx ^s

whereof xx^s, parcell of the saide viij^{li} allowed

to the yeoman, is to be aunswered by the same
yeoman after this yeare to the said Groome.
Which yf it may stande with *your* good Lordshippes lyking,
wee truste will bring contynuall quietnes and dutifull service
to her maiestie.

John Sotherton.
Jo. Conyers.

Hereon Burghley comments :—

My desire is to be better satisfied howe the Creditours shall
be payd.

W. Burghley.

Here the minutes stop, but Burghley must have been satisfied and must have allowed the arrangement to go forward, for on January 10, 1598, a new warrant was issued, in the place of that previously stayed, for the £200 due on account of 1593-6, and for the annual £66 6s. 8d., 'by way of composition for defraying the ordinary services of plays only.' Apparently the fixed rate was made retrospective for 1593-6.¹ Two or three points of interest arise from the document just printed. It seems curious that no share in the composition is awarded to the Clerk. Possibly Blagrove, old and disappointed, was in practical retirement at Bedwyn; but in that case he would naturally have appointed and claimed allowance for a deputy. On the other hand, a new post, of Groom of the Revels, corresponding to that of Groom of the Tents which had existed since 1544, seems to have been created; and it is to be gathered that some redistribution of duties and emoluments between the Yeoman and the Groom was in progress. The Porter of St. John's Gate, also, now seems to be classed as an officer of the Revels; and in this post, John Dauncy has been succeeded since 1587-8 by John Griffeth.² The sum of £66 6s. 8d. allowed for ordinary charges was evidently made up of £40 for officers' 'wages' and £26 6s. 8d. for tradesmen's bills and

¹ *S. P. Dom. Elis.* cclxvi. p. 5.

² Cunningham, 196, 201. In 1580-1 John Hilton was apparently paid as porter (Cunningham, 168), but I think he was only doorkeeper at the performances, not Porter of St. John's Gate.

miscellaneous expenses. After paying £19 to the inferior officers, Tilney had £21 left for his own 'wages'. This amount is out of proportion to the double rate, of 4s. as against the 2s. paid to each inferior officer, which the Master had been accustomed to receive for each day's or night's attendance. But the accounts for 1582-3, 1584-5, and 1587-8 show that the attendances made by Tilney, who possibly exercised a much more detailed supervision of his Office than either Bengier or Cawarden had attempted, were far in excess, during those years, of those of his subordinates. Every officer attended for the twenty annual days of 'airing' and for the actual nights, which were sixteen in 1582-3, and fourteen in 1584-5 and 1587-8, of the performances. In addition, Tilney attended for 106, 117, and 116 days respectively, and the other officers for only 60, 51, and 28 (in the case of the Yeoman, 38) days respectively, in these three years.¹ The average allowances for wages had therefore been about £29 10s. a year for the Master and £7 10s. a year for each inferior officer, so that the composition was by no means unduly in Tilney's favour. Probably he liked to be at Court, whether there was much to do or not; but on the other hand his personal servants were often in attendance also, and for this he got no further allowance. The precedence of the Master of the Revels at Court was fixed by a certificate of the Heralds in 1588, which directed that in the procession to St. Paul's for a thanksgiving after the Armada he should walk with the Knights Bachelor.²

Of course the 'wages' dealt with by the composition and charged to the Revels Account were quite distinct from the 'fees' payable to the officers out of the Exchequer in virtue of their patents. These had been settled in Cawarden's time, and, so far as the inferior officers were concerned, do not appear to have been varied since. The Clerk Comptroller received 8*d.* a day, together with four yards of woollen cloth, worth 6*s.* 8*d.* each, from the Wardrobe. The Clerk had 8*d.* a day, and a money payment of 24*s.* a year for his livery;

¹ Cunningham, 179, 186, 190, 196, 199, 201.

² *S. P. Dom.* cclxxix. 86.

the Yeoman 6*d.* a day, and a livery 'such as Yeomen of the household have' at the Wardrobe. The Master's fee, alike in the patents of Cawarden, Tilney and Buck, is given as £10. But, according to a statement made by Buck about 1611, a sum of £100 had been assigned to Tilney 'for a better recompence'.¹ This grant seems to have been made to Tilney both by Elizabeth and James, but not to have been continued to Buck himself.² In addition to fee and wages, each of the officers was entitled under his patent to an official residence. The Master held his place 'cum omnibus domibus mansionibus regardis proficuis iuribus libertatibus et advantagiis eidem officio quouismodo pertinentibus sive spectantibus vel tali officio pertinere sive spectare debentibus'.³ The Clerk Comptroller could claim a house, 'ubi paviliones . . . positi sunt aut erunt' to be assigned by the Master of the Tents; the Clerk, one at the *staura* of the Revels or the Tents, to be assigned by the Master of one or other Office; the Yeoman 'one sufficient house or mancion such as hereafter shall be assigned to him' for the keeping of the vestures. Cawarden had provided these houses at the Blackfriars and taken allowances in the Revels Account of £6 13*s.* 4*d.* for his own and £3 6*s.* 8*d.* each for those of his then subordinates.⁴ After his death suitable lodgings were available at St. John's. During Benger's retire-

¹ Chalmers, 486, 490; *S. P. Dom. Jac. I.* lxx. 2.

² A list of fees (c. 1579) in *Household Ordinances* (Soc. Antiq.) 255, 256 includes 'Revells. The master, £100. Yeoman, £9 2*s.* 6*d.* [=6*d.* a day]. Master of requests; fee [blank]. *Tentes* . . . Controler, £12 13*s.* 4*d.* [error for £12 3*s.* 4*d.* = 8*d.* a day]. Clarke, £13 6*s.* 8*d.* [? error for £13 7*s.* 4*d.* = £12 3*s.* 4*d.* + £1 4*s.* 0*d.* for livery]. The Master's fee is also given as £100 in Elizabethan lists in *Lord Chamberlain's Books*, 617, f. 19 (1593), Peck, *Desiderata Curiosa*, i. 63 (c. 1598) and Collier, i. 174, from *Harl. MS.* 2078 (the sum being wrongly regarded as an error); and in Jacobean lists in *Soc. Antiq. MS.* 74 (Collier, i. 345) 'fee £100 and diett in courte', and in *Stowe MS.* 574, f. 16. But the list (c. 1617) in the *Abstract of Revenue in Truth Brought to Light and Discovered by Time* (1651) gives 'Revels. Master, £10. Yeoman, £9 2*s.* 6*d.* *Tentes* . . . Clark Controller, £12 3*s.* 4*d.* Clark, £13 7*s.* 6*s.*' including '24*s.* per annum for his livery'.

³ Sir Henry Herbert (Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 86) held these words in Cawarden's patent to imply that he was not the first Master. But in any case the 'officium' pre-existed, even if the holder was only a Serjeant or even a Yeoman.

⁴ Cf. p. 15.

ment the Master's lodging was utilized as a supplementary storehouse. It was consequently not ready for Tilney on his appointment, and he was allowed £6 13s. 4d. as six months' rent for lodgings elsewhere.¹ An undated letter from him at the Revels Office to Sir William More, complaining of the conduct of a neighbour, suggests that he found these at the Blackfriars.² Presumably he moved to St. John's in the course of 1579, as the allowance was not repeated. On October 31, 1601, John Chamberlain wrote to Dudley Carleton, 'The Quene sells land still, and the house of St. Johns is at sale.'³ It was not, however, then sold; but about 1607 it was granted by James to Lord Aubigny, and the Revels were dispossessed. Allowances were made both for the rent of a new office, and also to the officers in compensation for the loss of their houses, of £35 for the Master, reduced to £30 on Buck's succession and afterwards raised again to £50, and of £15 each for the Clerk and Yeoman.⁴ The claim of the Clerk Comptroller was, in accordance with his patent, a matter for the Tents. It was doubtless in connection with this transaction that the following memorandum, which is preserved amongst Sir Julius Caesar's papers and endorsed 'Mr. Tilney's writinge touching his Office' was drawn up.⁵

The Office of *the Revells* Is noted to be one of *the Kinges Majesties* standinge Offices, as are the Jewellhowsse, *the wardropp*, *the Ordinance*, the Armorye, and the Tentes with *the* like Allowances everie wayes *that* any of *them* haue.

Which Office of *the Revells* Consistethe of a wardropp and other severall Roomes for Artificers to worke in (viz. Taylors, Imbrotherers, Properti makers, Paynters, wyerdrawers and Carpenters), togeather with a Convenient place for *the* Rehearsalls and settinge forth of Playes and other Shewes for those Services.

In which Office *the* Master of *the* Office hath ever hadd a

¹ Cunningham, 150.

² *Hist. MSS.* vii, 661.

³ Chamberlain, *Letters* (Camd. Soc.), 120.

⁴ Chalmers. 490; Cunningham, xxi, xxii; *S. P. Dom. Jac. I.* xxviii. 127; lxx. 2.

⁵ *Lansdowne MS.* 156, f. 363.

dwellinge Howsse for him self and his Famelie, and *the* other Officers ar to haue eyther dwellinge Howsses Assigned unto *them* by *the* Master (for so goeth the wordes of *ther* Pattentes) or else a Rente for *the* same as *thei* had before they Came unto St. Johnes.

For by ther Pattents, *which* be all eyther new graunted or Confirmed by the Kinges Maiestie, They ar Allowed as the Master Is to haue eache of them a dwellinge Howsse with garden and Stable for Terme of *ther* lyues, as ther Predicessors hadd (*viz.* within St. Johnes), *which* Cannot well be taken from vs without good Consideration for the same: or *the* lyke Allowance for Howssroome.

Elye Howsse Is possessed agayne by *the* Byshopp as I doe heare

But Sir Thomas Knevitt hath vnder neathe his keepershipp of Whitehaull, dyvers howsses, as Hawnces and Baptistas with ij or iij howsses more Appertayninge ther vnto, near vnto *the* olde Pallas In westminster *which* I doe doubte be all rented out by him for Terme of his lyeffe.

The emoluments of an Elizabethan Office were not always confined to those which came directly or indirectly out of the Exchequer. Perhaps the inferior officers of the Revels had no very great opportunity of supplementing their official salaries, although we have found Holt, as Yeoman, getting rewards from the Westminster boys for help in their representations, and it is to be surmised that, when Revels garments were let out on hire, the profits of the transaction did not go to the Crown. But it was otherwise in the case of the Master, at any rate under the administration of Tilney, owing to the extension of the original functions of the post into those of a general Censorship of the Stage. It need hardly be said, that in the sixteenth century all licensing powers implied the payment of fees to the licenser, and in this way the 'proficua' reserved to the Master by the terms of his patent came to form a considerable source of income. The 'perusing and reforming' of plays which figures from time to time in the Revels Accounts was, of course, for the express purpose of performance at Court, and only indirectly affected the nature of the plays given in public. The first glimpse of wider powers conferred upon the

Master of the Revels is in a patent granted to Leicester's men on May 10, 1574, which authorized them to perform in or out of London, 'any act, statute, proclamacion or commaundment hertofore made, or herafter to be made, to the contrary notwithstanding', and provided that their 'Comedies, Tragadies, Enterludes and Stage-playes be by the Master of our Revills (for the tyme being) before seen and allowed'.¹

No similar patents to other companies have been found, and I do not think that it can be assumed that any were issued. It is quite possible that the practical vacancy in the Mastership during Benger's retirement may have made the contemplated procedure seem undesirable. But in 1578 Fleetwood, the Recorder, and other persons interested in the good government of the City, were considering certain suggestions, 'for the ordering of plays and other matters' framed 'in time past' by Burghley²; and in 1581 the commission given to Tilney authorized him not merely to impress wares and workmen for the service of the Revels, but also, under penalty of commitment to ward for the disobedient:—

'to warne comaunde and appointe . . . all and every plaier or plaiers, with their playmakers . . . from tyme to tyme and at all tymes to appeare before him, with all suche Plaies, Tragedies, Comedies or Showes as they shall have in readines or meane to sett forth, and them to presente and recite before our said Servant, or his sufficient Deputie, whom wee ordeyne, appointe and authorise by these presentes of ail suche Showes, Plaies, Plaiers and Playmakers, together with their playinge places, to order and reforme, auctorise and put downe, as shalbe thought meete or unmeete unto himselfe or his said Deputie in that behalfe.'³

It is obvious that, while the first part of this clause may be taken as only concerned with the ordinary provision of plays for the Queen's recreation and solace at Christmas, the closing words confer upon the Master of the Revels extremely wide, if also extremely vague, powers with regard to the stage in general. We have little knowledge as to how far, or in what

¹ Malone, *Variorum*, iii. 47; Collier, i. 203; Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 25.

² Wright, *Elizabeth*, ii. 88.

³ Cf. p. 61.

way, Tilney attempted at first to exercise them. Probably he issued licences to companies of players on the lines of that granted to Leicester's men by patent in 1574. The municipal archives of the city of Leicester contain a curious story of a visit paid in 1584 by a company who called themselves the Master of the Revels' players, and exhibited a licence from Tilney, dated on February 6, 1583, as their credentials. They were allowed to perform before the Corporation, but it afterwards turned out that they were impostors, and that they had stolen the licence from Worcester's men, who had accidentally left it behind in an inn.¹ The name which the players assumed was probably invented for the occasion, as there is no other evidence that the Master of the Revels had a company in his own name; but it may be inferred that, in 1584, travelling companies at least were in the habit of carrying a licence from the Master, as a passport to the goodwill of local magistrates. The licence required Tilney's name to each play-book.

But most certainly it cannot be taken for granted that the patent of 1581 at once placed Tilney in a position of undisputed authority over the drama in London. On the contrary, it only marks, like the grant to Leicester's men itself, a single moment in a long controversy between the opponents and the patrons of the stage. On the one side stood the City shopkeepers, disliking the interruption of business and the waste of time and money on the part of their wives and apprentices which plays entailed, and driven by Puritan preachers who, since plays ceased to be the vehicles of religious controversy, had discovered that they were the works of Satan; on the other, the taste of the Court and the personal predilection of Elizabeth for dramatic entertainments at Christmas, which could not be economically supplied, unless the players were enabled to obtain their exercise and make their profit by public performances. Between the two conflicting parties stood the Privy Council, whose members were divided in their individual sympathies, while the body as a whole was torn between the need of gratifying the Queen, the desire to assert its own authority over the recalcitrant City, the dislike of the riots and

¹ W. Kelly, *Notices Illustrative of the Drama*, 211.

misdeemeanours arising out of plays, and the dread of infection in the constantly recurring plague-seasons, which furnished the anti-toleration faction with their strongest arguments. A complete account of the motives and fortunes of this controversy would require another essay at least as long as the present one. My immediate point is that any licensing powers conferred upon the Master of the Revels in London necessarily clashed with similar powers claimed by the City authorities. These had, indeed, been set up by the Council itself, owing to the itch of the players during the Reformation for religious polemic. A series of earlier orders had culminated in a proclamation of May 16, 1559, forbidding any performance without a licence in towns from the Mayor, or in country districts from the Lord Lieutenant or two Justices of the Peace.¹ This gave the Mayor of London a very strong position, and both the Leicester grant of 1574 and the commission to the Master of the Revels in 1581 can only be regarded as intended to turn its flank. The former had immediately succeeded the earliest symptoms of trouble between the Council and the City as regards the toleration of plays. Both in 1573 and 1574 the Council had had to intervene on behalf of players², and on March 2, 1574, the City had definitely refused to accept the suggestion of the Lord Chamberlain that a certain Mr. Holmes should have 'the appointment of places for playes and enterludes within this citie'. They pointed out that the Council had previously made and waived a similar proposal, and added that they were unwilling to trust such a matter to any private person, and that, even were this not so, they had other offers 'to the relefe of the poore in the hospitalles'.³ In the autumn an Act of Common Council was passed regulating performances, and requiring all companies and playing-places to be licensed by the Corporation, and all plays to be allowed by persons appointed by them for the purpose.⁴

¹ Collier, i. 166; Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 19; *N. S. S. Trans.* (1880-5), 177; cf. *Medicæal Stage*, ii. 215.

² Dasent, *Acts of Privy Council*, viii. 131, 132, 215, 273.

³ Collier, i. 206; Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 23; from *Cotton MSS. Roll*, xvi. No. 41.

⁴ Collier, i. 208; Hazlitt, *E. D. S.* 27; from *Lansd. MS.* 20. It is often stated that plays were definitely expelled from the City in 1575. I have shown in the

Probably an open conflict was averted by the transference of Leicester's men in 1576 to the newly-built Theatre, which stood outside the jurisdiction of the City and within that of the Middlesex justices. Then ensued a long period of pulpit and pamphlet warfare, as a result of which the City was stimulated, probably in the spring of 1582, to pass a fresh Act of Common Council permanently prohibiting all plays in London.¹ It is possible that this measure may have been directly dictated by alarm at the commission given to Tilney in the previous December. The Privy Council of course intervened², but plague came to the rescue, and it was not until 1584 that the dispute was finally threshed out on an appeal to the Council by the Queen's men for leave to perform in preparation for the following Christmas. A number of documents concerning this appeal are amongst Burghley's papers, but unfortunately they are incomplete, and in particular there is no note of the decision arrived at.³ But I do not think there can be any doubt that the City was beaten, to the extent of being obliged to recognize the authority of the Council. It is certain that plays continued to be given in London, and there does not seem to have been any further serious attempt to prohibit them altogether until 1596. In this year Henry, Lord Hunsdon, the Lord Chamberlain, who had probably been the chief supporter of the players in the Privy Council, died. His successor, Lord Cobham, had Puritan leanings, and the Lord Mayor took the opportunity to banish the players once more.⁴ No doubt Cobham's policy was reversed in the following year,

Academy for August 24, 1895, that this is a misconception due to a mistaken endorsement of the date 1575 on the documents in *Lansd. MS.* 20.

¹ *Orders Appointed to be Executed in the City of London for Setting Rogues and Idle Persons to Work, and for the Relief of the Poor* (Hugh Singleton, n. d.), Art. 62; Collier, i. 211.

² Dasent, xiii. 404; *Remembrancia*, 350, 351.

³ *Lansd. MS.* 20.

⁴ *Remembrancia*, 355; Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, i. 304; N[ash] to Cotton (Grosart, *Nash*, i. lxi), 'The players . . . are piteously persecuted by the Lord Mayor and the Aldermen; and however in their old Lord's time they thought their estate settled, it is now so uncertain they cannot build upon it.' Walsingham also supported the players. I think that Burghley's personal sympathies were against them.

when he too died, and the Lord Chamberlainship reverted to the son of his predecessor, George, Lord Hunsdon. Except for this brief interval, the City had to content themselves with bringing to bear such influence as they could, with the help of plagues and rumours of plagues, upon the Council, in order to keep the actors within the narrowest bounds possible. In so doing they had to reckon with Tilney, whom the Council, although reserving and from time to time exercising their own authority, seem to have regarded as primarily responsible to them for the regulation of the theatres. Thus, on May 7, 1587 we find letters with regard to a temporary suspension of performances directed to him as well as to the Lord Mayor and the suburban justices.¹ This, however, is exceptional; probably he was generally consulted beforehand on such occasions. This was certainly so when a question arose as to the erection of the Fortune in 1600.²

A distinction is to be drawn between the licensing of companies and theatres and the 'allowing' of particular plays. Tilney may at first have only exercised the former function and have allowed his claim to the latter under his patent to remain dormant, at least in London. The correspondence of 1582 suggests that the right of the Mayor to 'allow' plays was not then challenged. The Privy Council called upon the Mayor to appoint 'some fitte persones who maie consider and allowe of suche playes only as be fitte to yeld honest recreation and no example of evell'; and he replied that 'grave and discreet persons' should be appointed accordingly. But a change took place in 1589, which appears to have been determined by the somewhat scandalous intervention of the players in the Martin Marprelate controversy. Some responsibility must already have lain with Tilney, for the initiative seems to have come from him. On November 6 the Mayor wrote to Burghley that, in accordance with what he understood from a letter of his Lordship to Mr. Yonge, a Middlesex justice, to be his desire, he had stayed plays

¹ Dasent, xv. 70, gives the addressee as the Master of the Rolls, but this must be an error.

² Dasent, xxx. 396; *Remembrancia*, 354.

within the City, 'in that Mr. Tilney did utterly mislike the same'.¹ Almost immediately afterwards, on November 12, the Council issued from 'the Starre Chamber' three letters.² The first was directed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and recited that:—

'There hathe growne some inconvenience by comon playes and enterludes in and about the Cyttye of London in [that] the players take uppon them to handle in their plaies certen matters of Divynytye and of State unfitt to be suffred, for redresse whereof their Lordships have thought good to appointe some persones of judgement and understanding to viewe and examine their playes before they be permitted to present them publickly.'

The Archbishop is requested to nominate 'some fytt persone well learned in Divinity' to serve on such a commission. Another letter requested the Lord Mayor to appoint 'a sufficient persone learned and of judgement', as already signified to him, for the same purpose. The third was to Tilney, instructing him to act with the other two. They are:—

'to call before them the severall companies of players (whose servauntes soever they be) and to require them by authoritye hereof to delyver unto them their bookes, that they maye consider of the matters of their comedyes and tragedyes, and thereuppon to stryke oute or reforme suche partes and matters as they shall fynd unfytt and undecent to be handled in playes, both for Divinitie and State, comaunding the said companies of players, in her Majestie's name, that they forbear to present and playe publickly anie comedy or tragedy other then suche as they three shall have seene and allowed, which if they shall not observe, they shall then knowe from their Lordships that they shalbe not onely severely punished but made [in]capable of the exercise of their profession forever hereafter.'

I have some doubts as to how far this arrangement endured, and whether the commission was more than a half-way stage to a system of 'allowing' by the Master of the Revels alone. Certainly Sir Henry Herbert, who rested his claim to act as licenser after the Restoration upon the precedent of Tilney,

¹ Collier, i. 265, from *Lansd. MS.* 60.

² Dasent, xviii. 214; Collier, i. 268.

does not suggest that the duties were shared with colleagues.¹ It is possible, however, that even in 1589 it was the intention of the Council that Tilney should be the licenser, and that the nominees of the Archbishop and the Mayor should merely be experts in theology and morals, acting as his assessors. By 1592 Tilney's authority was clearly established. The City chafed, but they could not do more than write to Archbishop Whitgift, from whom they hoped for assistance, complaining of the disorders of the theatres, and explaining that they were helpless because the Queen who

'must be served at certain times by this sort of people . . . had granted her letters patent to Mr. Tilney, her Master of the Revels, by virtue whereof he had authority to reform, exercise or suppress all manner of players, plays, and playhouses, and he had licensed the said houses which before had been open to the Statutes for the punishing of such disorders.'

The Statutes referred to are doubtless the Acts of Common Council of 1574 and 1582 already mentioned. There is a second letter of March 6, 1592, from the Lord Mayor to Whitgift, thanking him for his advice, and telling him that a committee had been chosen to negotiate 'as touching the consideration to be made to Mr. Tilney for the better effecting the restraint of plays in and about the City'.² Evidently Whitgift knew his Tilney. However on March 23 the Court of the Merchant Taylors' Company discussed a 'precepte' from the Lord Mayor, which called attention to the evils of plays and suggested 'the payment of one Anuytie to one Mr. Tylney, mayster of the Revelles of the Queene's house, in whose hands the redresse of this inconveniency doeth rest, and that those playes might be abandoned out of this citie'. The court sympathized, but 'wayinge the damage of the president and enovacion of raysinge of Anuyties upon the Companies of London' declined to unloose their purse-strings.³

It is fair to say that Tilney, if he looked keenly enough after

¹ Halliwell-Phillipps, *Dramatic Records*, 96; *Variorum Shakespeare*, iii. 263. Herbert mentions the names of certain plays licensed by Tilney in 1598.

² *Remembrancia*, 352.

³ C. M. Clode, *History of the Merchant Taylors*, i. 236.

his own interests, also continued the wholesome practice initiated by the City itself of turning the theatres into a source of revenue for the relief of the poor. Perhaps here also we may trace Whitgift's influence. On March 28, 1600, the vestry of St. Southwark's ordered the churchwardens to 'talk with the players for tithes for their playhouses . . . and for money for the poor', and this was stated to be in accordance with 'the order taken before my Lords of Canterbury, London and Master of the Revells'.¹ Some light is thrown upon Tilney's own profits from his licensing rights by the records of payments to him in the *Diary* or Memorandum book of Philip Henslowe.² The nature of the earliest of these payments is not quite clear. They occur about once a week in 1592 and are for varying amounts of 5s., 6s. 8d., and 12s. But at later dates there is no difficulty in distinguishing payments of two different classes. There are payments for the 'allowing' of plays, at a fixed fee of 7s. a play. These were made by Henslowe from 1598 to 1601, on behalf of the companies by whom the plays were produced in his theatres. There are also monthly payments for the licensing of the theatres themselves. In 1596 and 1598 the amount paid was 40s.; but from 1599 to 1602 it was 60s. Sometimes it is specified as being 'for the Fortune'. Henslowe took his receipts from the Master of the Revels' 'men', doubtless personal servants of Tilney. Thomas Stonnard, William Stonnard, Michael Bluenson, Robert Johnson, William Hatton, Thomas Whittle, John Carnab, Richard Veale, William Playstowe, R. Playstowe, and R. Hassard are named between 1595 and 1602. Robert Johnson was 'of Leatherhead', where Tilney had a house. It is perhaps legitimate to infer that Tilney preferred to keep this branch of his work away from the Revels Office, and to avoid any claim for a share of the fees on the part of the inferior officers. I regret to say that on one occasion Henslowe thought it proper to make a loan to William Stonnard. Amongst the expenses

¹ Chalmers, 405.

² *Henslowe's Diary* (ed. Greg), i. 5, 12, 28, 39, 40, 46, 54, 72, 83, 85, 103, 109, 116, 117, 121, 129, 132, 148, 158, 160, 161; *Dulwich MSS.* i. 37.

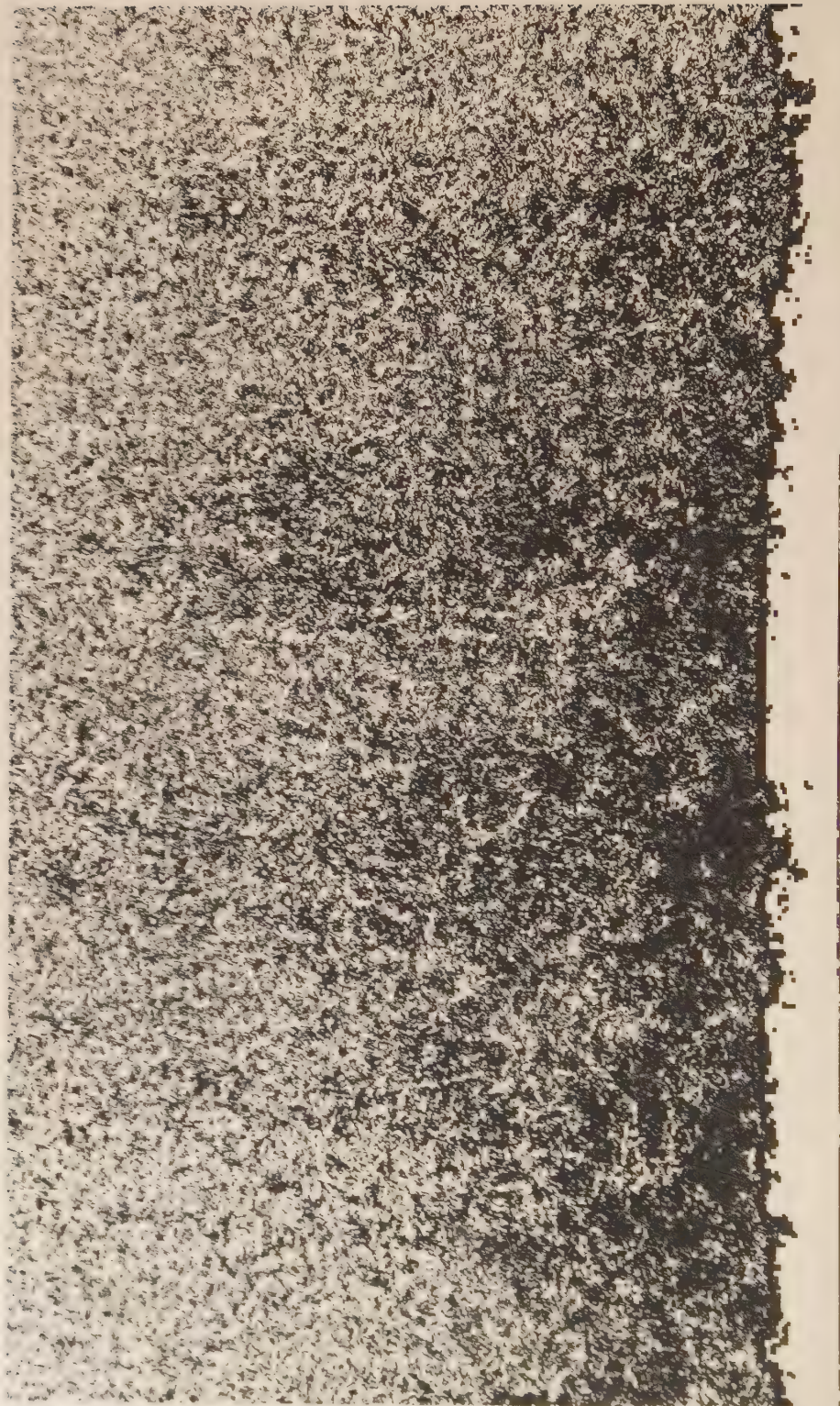
of the Fortune in 1600 is an item 'Pd. for goinge by water with the M^r. of the Revelles xij^d.', no doubt on a visit of inspection. A payment of £10 on January 2, 1595, is partly on account of a bond of £100. This was no doubt as security for the due observance of Tilney's regulations. On February 19, 1598, the Privy Council instructed Tilney to suppress a company, partly on the ground that they were not 'bound to you, the Master of the Revelles, for perfourming such orders as have bin prescribed and are enjoyned to be observed by the other two companies'.¹ Altogether Tilney must have derived a pretty good income out of licences, and this perhaps explains why the allowance of £100 a year made to him 'for a better recompense' was not continued to his successor.²

The allowance of plays by the Master of the Revels extended only to performance and not to publication. Under the *Injunctions* of 1559 'pamphlets, playes and balletes' were to be licensed before printing by three Commissioners for Religion. A Star Chamber decree of June 23, 1586, required a licence by the archbishop or bishop. Acting under this the Archbishop of Canterbury nominated several licensers on June 30, 1588. It appears doubtful from the entries in the Stationers' Register how far these regulations were actually observed. On June 1, 1599, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London gave a reminder to the Stationers' Company 'that noe playes be printed excepte they bee allowed by such as haue authorytie'. About 1607 Sir George Buck, who was then Tilney's deputy as Master of the Revels, began to license plays for printing as well as for acting; but this change lies beyond the scope of the present notes.

¹ Dasent, xxviii. 327.

² Cf. p. 69.

³ Arber, *Registers of the Stationers' Company*, i. xxxviii.; ii. 807; iii. 677, 690.



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